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THE
MEMOIRS
OF THE HONORABLE
SIR *JOHN RERESBY*, Baronet,
And last GOVERNOR of YORK.

CONTAINING
Several Private and Remarkable Transactions,
FROM
The RESTORATION to the REVOLUTION
Inclusively.



L O N D O N:
Printed in the Year M DCC XXXIV.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE
SIR JOHN REREBY, BARTONCE

Several Private and Remarkable Transactions



THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION



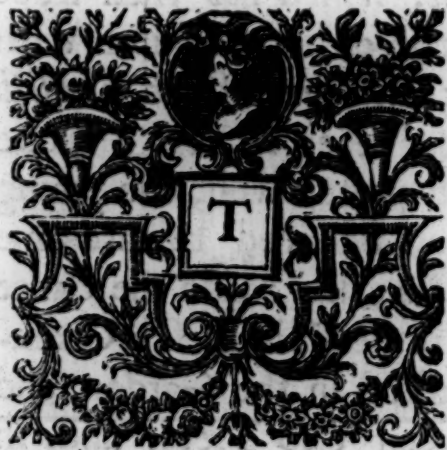
M E M O I R S

O F

Sir J O H N R E R E S B Y,

From the Year 1658 to the Year 1689.

Sir JOHN having very minutely acquainted us with his Birth, Education and Travels, which could neither affect the Reader, nor be admitted as part of what we promise to print of him, we shall set out from the Year 1658.



His Year, says he, died the Protector Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest Men, had his Cause been good, the World ever saw. His Actions I leave to the Historian; and having been very near his Person but once, at an Audience of an Ambassador at *Whitehall*, I can only say that his Figure did not come up to his Character; he was indeed a likely Person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his Apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was, doubtless, the deepest Dissembler on Earth.

1658.

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1659.
Aug. 12.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had attended the King in his Exile, had disobliged, and left his Majesty some time before, and was now endeavouring to Marry the Daughter and Heiress of *Thomas Lord Fairfax*, formerly the Parliament's General, and unto whom had been granted the greatest part of the said Duke's Estate. This Duke was the finest Gentleman, both for Person and Wit, I think I ever saw; but he knew not how to be long serious, or mindful of Business; and had behaved with some insolence to the King, which was the Cause of their Separation. It was now that I first became acquainted with him, and he from the very first Moment expressed a Kindness for me.

It was now easy to perceive that a way was paving to facilitate the King's return; but still the Rump kept up some face of State; and I remember to have been present at a Dinner, given by the City of *London*, to *Lambert* and other Officers of the Army, by far more costly and splendid, than any I ever saw given afterwards to his Majesty; so much is Awe more prevalent than Love.

Oct. 20.

Continuing but in an indifferent State of Health, I, partly for that Reason, and partly for others, returned to *Paris*, where I had no sooner put my self into some Equipage, but I endeavoured to be known at our Queen Mother's Court, which she then kept at the Palais Royal. Her Majesty had none of her Children with her, but the Princess *Henrietta Maria*; and few of the *English* making their Court there, I was the better received. As I spoke the Language of the Country, and danced pretty well, the young Princess, then about fifteen Years of Age, behaved towards me with all the civil Freedom that might be; she made me dance with her, played on the Harpsicord to me in her Highness's Chamber; suffered me to wait on her as she walked in the Garden, and sometimes to toss her in a Swing between two Trees, and, in fine, to be present at all her innocent Diversions.

The Queen commanded me to attend as often as I conveniently could; she had a great Affection for *England*, notwithstanding the severity of Usage she and hers had met with there. With
the

the great Men and Ladies of *France*, she discoursed much in 1659. praise of the People and Country, of their Courage, their Generosity, their good Nature, and would excuse all the late Misfortunes, as brought about by some desperate Enthusiasts, rather than proceeding from the Genius and Temper of the Nation. To give a litte Instance of her Inclination for the *English*, I hapned to carry an *English* Gentleman with me one Day to Court, and he, to be very fine, had got him a Garniture of rich Ribbon to his Suit, in which was a Mixture of Red and Yellow; which the Queen observing, called to me, and bad me advise my Friend to mend his Fancy a little, as to his Ribbons, the two Colours he had joined, being ridiculous in *France*, and might give the *French* occasion to laugh at him.

I had three Cousins then in an *English* Convent at *Paris*, one of them an ancient Lady, and since Abbess of the House: Hither the Queen was wont often to retire for some Days; and the Lady would tell me that Lord *Fermyn*, since *St. Albans*, had the Queen greatly in awe of him, and indeed it was obvious that he had great Interest with her Concerns; but that he was married to her, or had Children by her, as some have reported, I did not then believe, tho' the thing was certainly so.

The Court of *France* was very splendid this Winter; a Grand Mask was danced at the *Louvre*, where the King and Princess *Henriette* of *England* danced to Admiration: But there was now a greater Resort to the Palais than the *French* Court; the good Humour and Wit of our Queen Mother, and the beauty of the Princess her Daughter being more inviting than any thing that appeared in the *French* Queen, who was a *Spaniard*. 1660.

The Queen Mother received the News of his Majesty's happy Restoration, with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, and, among other things, gave a noble Ball at her Court, to which every Body of the greatest Quality was invited, and to which all the *English* Gentlemen, then at *Paris*, had admittance. Having been ill some time before, I would have been excused from dancing, but the Queen commanding me to take out the Cardinal's Niece, I obeyed.

1660.

I stayed at *Paris* till *August*, and received more Honours from the Queen and the Princess her Daughter than I deserved, or could acknowledge, but by the most constant Duty and Attendance in my Power.

Aug. 2.

On the 2d Instant I sat out for *England*; but before my Departure, I waited on the Queen for her Commands; she told me she would write by me, and ordered me to attend next Morning for her Letter. Having received it and taken my Leave, I desired to know if it required haste? Her Majesty said, No, for that it contained but little besides a particular Recommendation of me to her Son the King.

At *London* I met my Mother and most of my Relations, who were come up, as from all Parts of *England* they did, to see the King, and was presented by the Duke of *Ormond*, then but Marquis, to his Majesty in the Privy Chamber at *Whitehall*, and delivering him the Queen's Letter, he asked me several Questions, both concerning her and my Voyage.

The Court at *Whitehall* soon became very magnificent, the Duke of *York* having his Court apart, and the Duke of *Gloucester* his: The Kingdom was now very rich, and Men were generally satisfied with the King's Return, tho' some Malecontents of several sorts there were; and how should it be otherwise? But the King did not much adhere to Business: All was calm and easy, he had a Parliament ready to yield to any thing that was reasonable, as the Acts they made sufficiently declare, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, then Chancellor, was at the Helm. The King, who was of an Age and Vigor for it, pursued his Pleasures; and if Love prevailed with him more than any other Passion, he had this for Excuse, besides that his Complexion was of an amorous sort, the Women seemed to be the Aggressors; and I have since heard the King say That they would sometimes offer themselves to his Embraces: Nor were the two Dukes, his Brothers, more averse to the Sex than his Majesty.

About this time the King's Aunt (the Queen of *Bohemia*) came over from the *Hague*, as did also his Sister, the Princess of *Orange*; but

but they both dyed soon after their Arrival, as did also the Duke of Gloucester. 1666.

The Queen Mother often asked me if the King had done any thing for me, and what it was I had fixed my Mind on, that she might speak a Word for me; but in truth I did not at that time pursue my own Advantage as I might have done; and went to Court rather to converse and look about me, than to solicit any Favour: I chiefly relied on the Queen's kindness to me, and the Influence she had over the King; but all the pleasing Superstructure fell to the Ground; the Queen left *England* soon after the Death of her Children, taking the Princess *Henrietta* away with her to *Paris*, and I was disappointed.

At this time a small Rebellion was raised in *London* by one *Vener* January 6. ner, which in its very rise was defeated by a Party of the Guards; but running out of Town they rallied again in *Cane-wood* near *Highgate*. Having a mind therefore to see a little Action, I mounted one of my Coach-horses, and mounted my Man upon the other, and joined Sir *Thomas Sands*, who commanded the Party of the Guards that went in pursuit of the Incendaries. Having search'd the Wood till Midnight, we came to a little House, where the People told us they had been desiring some Victuals but a little while before, and that they could not be far off. Accordingly, about an Hour after this, we found some of them in the thickest part of the Wood. They discharged their Pieces at us, but the Moon setting they got from us, and hurried back again to *London*, where they met with the Fate every Body knows. Their Captain and about twenty more were hanged, drawn and quartered: About twenty of them were killed in their several Skirmishes, and about as many of the King's Men, one of which was shot not far from me in *Cane-wood*.

It was this Summer that the Duke of *York* first took any particular Notice of me. I hapned to be in Discourse with the *French* Ambassador, and some other Gentlemen of his Nation, in the Presence at *Whitehall*, and the Duke joined us, he being a great Lover of the *French* Tongue, and kind to those who spoke it. 1661.

it. The next Night he talked with me a long while, as he was at Supper with the King.

1682.
May 19.

Now it was that the King went to receive the Infante of *Portugal* at *Portsmouth*, attended by the greatest Court I ever saw in any Progress. But though, upon this Occasion, every thing was gay and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the King was not excessively charmed with his new Bride, who was a very little Woman with a pretty tolerable Face; she, neither in Person nor Manners, had any one Article to stand in Competition with the Charms of the Countess of *Castlemain*, (since Duchess of *Cleveland*) the finest Woman of her Age. It is well known that the Lord Chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful Match, and that the Queen was said to have had a constant Fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of Conception.

1664.

This Year the War broke out between us and the Dutch; and I resolved to serve as Volunteer in our Fleet, hoping to be on Board the Duke's own Ship. I accordingly equipped my self with Necessaries for the Sea, and went to procure the King's leave to go on board, and to receive his Commands to the Duke, intending to be gone the next Day. The King told me he was willing I should go, but had Letters to write to the Duke, which he would send by me, and ordered me to stay for them day after day (expecting, it seems, first to hear from the Duke) till at last his Majesty told me he should not write, and that I needed not now to go, for that the Duke would be speedily on Shore, he not having been able to bring the *Dutch* to Action.

A dreadful Plague raged this Summer in *London*, and swept away 97309 Persons. It was usual for People to drop down in the Streets as they went about their business; and a story is reported for a certain Truth, That a Bagpiper being excessively overcome with liquor, fell down in the Street and there lay asleep. In this condition he was taken up and thrown into a Cart, betimes the next Morning, and carried away with some dead Bodies. Mean while he awoke from his sleep, it being now about Day-break, and rising up began to play a Tune, which so surpriz'd

surpriz'd the fellows that drove the Cart, who could see nothing distinctly, that in a Fright they betook them to their Heels, and would have it that they had taken up the Devil in the disguise of a dead Man. 1662.

But to resume other things, I married, and was thereby prevented from being an Eye-witness of the *Dutch* War; and so I shall only say that his Highness obtained a glorious Victory over that Republick.

His Royal Highness the Duke and his Duchess came down to *York*, where it was observed that Mr. *Sydney*, the handsomest Youth of his time, and of the Duke's Bedchamber, was greatly in love with the Duchess, and indeed he might well be excused; for the Duchess, Daughter to Chancellor *Hide*, was a very handsome Personage, and a Woman of fine Wit. The Duchess on her part seemed kind to him, but very innocently: But he had the Misfortune to be banished the Court afterwards for another Reason, as was reported. Aug. 5.

I went to *Oxford* to put the King in mind of a former Promise, to make me High Sheriff of the County of *York*, the Year next ensuing; but hearing that Sir *Francis Cob* (who had been at some extraordinary Charge in receiving and attending the Court at *York*) obtained a Grant to continue in that Office for another Year, at his Highness's Intercession I waited on the Duke, acquainted him with my Claim, and begged his Assistance. He told me he wished he had known my Claim in time, that he should have been ready to serve me, and that I had nevertheless his Leave to solicit his Majesty's Promise. I thank'd him, but said I could not appear in any degree of Opposition to his Highness's Interest and Pleasure, and would therefore defer my Pretensions to a better Opportunity. This he took very kindly, went with me to the King, and presented me to him for the next Year; his Majesty gave me his Hand to kiss, and his Word once more that I should be Sheriff as I had desired. Off. 5.

A great and happy Victory was obtained over the *Dutch* by Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, and a sad and dismal Fire 1666.

1666. Fire laid the vast and noble City of *London* in Ashes, but these being Events that have been of late largely described already, I shall only observe of the latter, that the dreadful Destruction was not more extraordinary than the speed, regularity, and cost wherewith it was retrieved, and a new *London*, far exceeding the old, erected.

Octob. 2. I went to *London* to put the King and Duke in mind of their Promise, that I should be High Sheriff for the County of *York* for the Year next ensuing; and no sooner did I appear before the Duke than he said to me, *I remembered you tho' you was not here, and your Business is done for you.* And, to say the truth, there was no Prince at that time observed to be more punctual to his Word. I found what the Duke told me to be perfectly true, the King did graciously confirm what he had said, and named me Sheriff for the County of *York*, tho' I was not of the three in the List presented to him by the Judges.

1667. The Duke of *Buckingham* had been some time in disgrace at Court; and being suspected of some evil Practices against the King, a Proclamation was issued out to apprehend him. I confess I was at a loss to know how to act in this Matter, between the Obligation of my Office as Sheriff, and the respect I had for the Duke: But the Judges coming down to the Assizes, advised me by all means to proclaim it, which I did, and it for ever after lessened me in the Esteem of that Lord.

My Lord *Southampton*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, being lately dead, the administration of that great Office was transacted by Four Commissioners, the Duke of *Albemarle*, Lord *Ashley*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Sir *William Coventry*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, and Sir *John Duncomb*. It was now that the Parliament fell upon the great Earl of *Clarendon*, who having surrendered the Seals, a few Months afterwards, as much as possible to avoid the Heat of his Enemies, retired privately into *France*. His greatest Enemy in the House of Lords was the Duke of *Buckingham*; in the House of Commons, Sir *Thomas Osborne*, since Earl of *Danby*; by this Step, and by the help

help of his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was now absolute Favorite, it was that Sir *Thomas* more especially rose to his height of Dignity. 1667.

The Duke of *Buckingham* now acted as prime Minister: The King consulted him chiefly in all concerns of Moment; the Foreign Ministers were to apply to him, before they could be admitted to an Audience. But he was such a Foe to Business, such a Friend to Pleasure, and so apt to turn the Day into Night, and the Night into Day, that he could neither attend regularly on the King, nor dispatch Business, as it ought to be, with those who had any thing to negotiate with him; so his Ministry proved of no long Duration.

This Spring I carried my Family up to Town, where the Court and City were all gay and jovial; for Peace was now concluded with *France*, with *Spain*, with *Denmark*, and the *States General*. Embassadors extraordinary were now sent and received with the greatest pomp and splendor. 1668.

And now the Prince of *Tuscany* came to *London*, with a Retinue and Equipage suitable to his high Quality, and was at first magnificently entertained by the King; but after some time, he kept House at his own Expence, and had plenty of all the portable Rarities for Food and Drink, *Italy* had to afford. I dined with him twice; he was very kind to me, as he was to all those who had travelled into *Italy*, and spoke the Language. And this Spring the Prince of *Denmark* was in *London*, the same who some Years afterwards married the Princess *Anne* of *England*. April. 1669.

But all this Jollity was turned into Mourning for the Death of the Queen Mother, who about this time departed this Life at *Paris*: She was a great Princess, and my very good Mistress.

This Summer the Duchess of *Orleans*, the King's Sister, came over to *Dover*, where she was met by the King, the Duke of *York*, and the whole Court. Here it was that she confirmed his Highness the Duke in the Popish Superstition, of which he had as yet been but barely suspected; and it is said to have been his grand Argument for such his Adherence to those Tenets, That 1670.

1670.

his Mother had, upon her last Blessing, commanded him to be firm and steadfast thereto. Before this, it was thought he was rather a Friend to the Presbyterians; for not long before, a Nonconformist Minister being prosecuted at *Pomfret*, for preaching in a Conventicle, it was reported That his Highness, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, then Principal Minister of State, had written in his Favour to the Justices: But the Duke, as I was one Day attending on him in St. *James's* Park, called me to him, and discoursing over the thing to me, declared what was reported to be a Mistake, that he had not concerned himself at all with it, tho' he was so much a Friend to that sort of People, that he could wish the Law had not been put in Execution against him, or to that Effect, and that absolutely he did not write. At the same time he told me to represent him, upon Occasion, as no Enemy to such. Hereupon I acquainted his Highness, that there was a Kinsman of mine, one Mr. *Vincent*, in Town, who was a leading Man of that Party; and his Highness ordered me to bring him to Court, which I did, and the Duke took him aside, and talked with him a great while. It was generally believed that the Duke, in this, acted the Politician suitable to the time; for it was now rumoured about The King would be divorced from his Queen, which, by thus courting all Parties, he proposed to prevent.

But however this was, our Royal Family lost another of its Number; for the Duke of *Orleans* had for some time before been jealous of his Wife, and, if all that is said be true, not without good Ground: The Count *de Guiche* it seems, had been a Favorite with her, and now she is said to have fallen in Love with the Duke of *Monmouth*, while she was at *Dover*; in short, things were so represented to the Duke her Husband, that she died very suddenly after her return to *Paris*, by Poison as the Report went.

October.

This Month the Prince of *Orange* came to *London* to pay a Visit to the King. The Parliament being now met, pursuant to Prorogation, it happened that Sir *John Coventry*, in a Speech he made, reflected on the King's wenching; which being reported to

to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he ordered Sir *Thomas Sands* (an Officer of the Guards) and three or four more, to way-lay him as he went late home to his Lodging; which they accordingly did, and, taking him out of his Coach, slit his Nose. But complaint thereof being made to the House, it caused such a Heat, that thence proceeded the Act against Malicious Maiming and Wounding.

1670.

The Prince of *Orange* remaining in *England*, and making his Addresses to the Lady *Mary*, eldest Daughter to the Duke, the King entertained him with great splendor, as well on that Account, as because of his Relation to him, and great personal Merit. One Night, at a Supper, given by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the King made him drink very hard: the Prince was naturally averse to it, but being once entered, was more frolic and gay than the rest of the Company; and now the Mind took him to break the Windows of the Chambers belonging to the Maids of Honour, and he had got into their Apartments, had they not been timely rescued. His Mistress, I suppose did not like him the worse for such a notable Indication of his Vigor.

1671.

This Day dyed *Anne*, Duchess of *York*, with her last Breath declaring her self a Papist. April 31.

War was declared against the States General; and now the City of *London* had in a great Measure recovered herself from out of her Ashes, and was so far rebuilt this Year, that the King was on the Lord Mayor's Day invited to a Dinner, which he accepted. March 31.

The King about this time issued out a Proclamation for the Indulgence of tender Consciences, which caused great Uneasiness, not only in the Houses of Parliament, where it was afterwards reversed, but throughout the whole Kingdom; and was the most violent Blow that had been given to the Church of *England* from the Day of the Restoration. All Sectaries now publickly repaired to their Meetings and Conventicles; nor could all the Laws afterwards, and the most rigorous Execution of them, ever suppress these Separatists, or bring them to due Conformity.

1672.

This Summer the *French* joined us at Sea against the *Dutch*, but in the end betrayed us. In the Engagement, upon the 18th of *May*, the *French* stood off, and left us and the *Dutch* to make the best we could of it; whereas if they had assisted his Highness of *York*, who then commanded in Chief as High Admiral, we had doubtless obtained a signal Victory; but as the case was, we had so much the better, that, after a Fight of Eight Hours, the *Dutch* made sail from us. In this Engagement perished *Edward Montague*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Vice Admiral.

It was this Year that my Lord *Hallifax* first came into Business, and was sworn of the Privy Council. He was soon after joined in Commission with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and Lord *Arlington* as Ambassadors to the States; but to no purpose; the War continued.

1673.

I had heard the King intended to erect a Fort at *Burlington*, for the security of the *Colliers* and others, trading to the Northward; and I immediately applied to the Duke, entreating him to speak to the King that I might have the Command of the intended Place; who accordingly did; but whilst the thing was in agitation, his Highness refused to take the Oaths tendered to him as Lord High Admiral, thereby declaring himself a Roman Catholic, and resigning all his Employments, so that nothing more was done in my Business for that time.

And now the King having borrowed most of the ready Money in the Nation, of the Goldsmiths, (at that time called Bankers,) locked up the Exchequer, to the Bankruptcy of the most considerable of them, and the ruin of an infinite People, whose Money they had borrowed at Interest: And with this Calamity we conclude this Year.

Dec. 12.

Now it was that my Neighbour Sir *Thomas Osbourn* rose to the great Office of High Treasurer of *England*, my Lord *Clifford* resigning his Staff, and confessing himself a Papist. The Duke of *Buckingham* was chiefly instrumental in bringing this about for Sir *Thomas*, by a Bargain he made between Lord *Clifford* and him, namely, that Sir *Thomas* should officiate and give him half the

the Salary, and afterwards prevailing on the King to confer the Staff on Sir *Thomas* then created Lord Viscount *Dunblain*, tho' afterwards Earl of *Danby*, and had a Patent passing for Marquiss just as he fell into Disgrace. 1673.

The War with the *Dutch* still continued, Prince *Rupert* being Admiral for us, and the Count *d'Estrees* for the French. Two Victories we now obtained over them, but they were lessened by the loss of that great Seaman Sir *Edward Sprai*g.

The Parliament of these Days had from the beginning, which was soon after the Restauration, been perfectly well inclined to the King: They had given him a very great Revenue upon Tonnage and Poundage, as also by an Excise upon several sorts of Liquors, Hearth-Money, not to mention Temporary Taxes, the whole amounting to above three times more than had been enjoyed by any King of *England* before. The Country groaned under this Pressure, and began to be dissatisfied; which having an Influence on some Gentlemen of both Houses, gave Birth to two Parties, the one for the Country, the other for the Court. The former pretended in an impartial Manner to espouse the Cause of the People, in their Liberties and Properties, and whatever is dear to *Englishmen*; to assert the Religion and Government by Law established: The latter pretended to the same, but thought the King was to have a competent Income, and be invested with a due Power for the exercise of his regal Office, without having too great a Dependance on the People, a Cause which had been of such pernicious Effects to his Royal Father. Hence it was that Gentlemen bestirred themselves more than usual to be elected into a Seat in Parliament; so that great was the Competition between the Candidates, and at great Expences they were, even from One or Two Hundred, to Two Thousand Pounds. But the concerns of the Public were not what alone actuated all Men; some wanted to be in the House to be screened from their Debts, this Parliament having sat a long while; and some had obtained great Emoluments from the Court to stand up for that Interest; so that it is no wonder I had no less than

1673. than five Competitions when I offered my self for *Audborough*. And not to drop this matter here, I must observe that Mr. *Benson* was the most formidable of the Five; a Man of no Birth, but who from a Clerk to a Country Attorney, had raised himself to be Clerk of the Peace at the *Old Baily*, Clerk of Assize of the Northern Circuit, as also to an Estate of 2500 *l.* tho' not without some Reflection on his way of getting it. The Election was irregularly carried on in Favour of this Gentleman, and in the *January* following I moved the House to determine the Merit of the Return; but before a Hearing came on, a Prorogation intervened, so that I had the Charge of bringing up Witnesses, to no manner of purpose; and so we close up this Year.

1674. Sept. The Duke now declared his Marriage with *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *Modena*, not long before arrived with the Duchess her Mother. The Nation was much grieved at this Match, the Lady being a Papist of the strictest class, and the whole Affair managed by the *French* Interest.

November. The Duke of *Buckingham* was now again in Disgrace, for which he was indebted to the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, a *French* Lady, and now the most absolute of all the King's Mistresses; a very fine Woman she was, but most think she was sent on purpose to ensnare the King, who most readily ran into Toils of that sort. His Grace in vain made use of the Mediation of the Lord Treasurer: And to say the Truth, his Lordship was not altogether so zealous for his Grace as he ought to have been, especially if we consider that it was to him he owed the White Staff he bore. In short, the Duke was not the only Person that accused him of Ingratitude.

The King was at this time particularly displeased with his Grace, for that being summoned by the House of Commons to give an Account of some Malversations when he was Minister; he did not only appear, being a Peer, and that without the King's Leave, but to excuse himself reflected on others, and upon the whole, behaved in that Assembly in too mean and submissive a Manner; which however was of no avail to him against the Commons,

Commons, who addressed the King to lay him aside with regard to all Offices of Trust or Profit. His Grace was also called to the Bar of the House of Peers, for scandalously living with the Lady *Shrewsbury* as Man and Wife, he being a married Man, and for having killed my Lord *Shrewsbury* after he had debauch'd his Wife.

1674

The King prorogued the Parliament to the 13th of *April* next ensuing.

1675.
April.

The time of the Meeting of Parliament now drawing on, I repaired to *London*, and petitioned the Committee of Privileges and Elections; and after all endeavours to the contrary, I was voted the Sitting Member, and conducted into the House by Lord *Russel*, and Lord *Cavendish*.

Being thus received into the House, I found the two Parties in great Extremes against each other. The Court-side was very pressing and urgent for Money for the King's present Occasions; the Country Party thought of nothing less, except some Laws were enacted for the better Security of the Protestant Religion, and the grand Point of Property. But the two were so equal that nothing more than Words passed between them; meer Words without any Effect, for neither dared stand the Chance of a Question put. In the midst of this, Doctor *Shirley* prefers a Petition to the House of Lords against Sir *John Fag*, a Member of the Lower House, to appear and answer in a Cause he had brought before the Lords, and a Summons was sent to Sir *John*, accordingly; which the Commons considering as a Breach of Privilege, great Heats arose among them, and high Expressions being, upon this Occasion, mutually vented against each other by both Houses, the King thought fit to adjourn their time of Sitting for the present.

June.

They no sooner sat again than my Competitor *Benson*, and another, Mr. *Long*, petitioned against me. They would have had a short Day, but it was my Business to get as long a one as I could, and I accordingly did so. In short, the Business of the House was of such consequence, that a Prorogation came on before

Septemb.

1675.

fore our Cause could be heard. I took a particular Account of what was transacted this Session, the most extraordinary Particulars of which were summarily these.

The King had in his Speech acquainted us, That he was Four Millions in Debt, exclusive of what he owed to the Goldsmiths or Bankers, a vast Sum more, for which he paid neither Principal nor Interest, to the Ruin of many Families. It being upon this put to the Vote whether Money should be given or not, It was carried in the Negative by Four Voices, and that, when near Four Hundred Members were in the House. But it appearing that both the *Dutch* and *French* exceeded us in the Proportion and Number of their Shipping, a Sum of Three Hundred Thousand Pounds was voted to the King for the building of Twenty Ships, namely, One of the First Rate, Five of the Second, and Fourteen of the Third.

Several Ways were debated for the Raising of this Sum, as upon Land, upon the *Jews*, by way of Poll, or upon *French* Commodities, and lastly upon our own Consumption, and upon Merchandise. At length it was to be levied upon Land, and paid in Eighteen Months; to be lodged apart in the Exchequer, and appropriated to that particular Use, with very severe Penalties upon the Officers that should apply it to any other: but the Sum itself, the time it was to be raised in, and other Circumstances, were by no means grateful to the Court. It was farther voted That the Customs having been formerly given to the King for the Maintenance of the Fleet, a Clause to that effect and purpose should be inserted in this Bill, or a new one prepared to confirm it.

The State of the Fleet was now given in, whereby it appeared that we had no more than Eight First Rates, Nine Second Rates, and Forty Three Third Rates; while the *French* exceeded us in the Number of these Rates by Six and Twenty, and the *Dutch* by Fourteen.

It was moreover Voted that the Atheism, Debauchery and Impiety of the Present Age be inserted, as Grievances to be redressed;

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dressed : And it being violently suspected that some Members of the House did receive Gratuities from the Court to Vote on that side ; it was put that a Committee should be appointed to form a kind of Oath or Test, to discover what Sums of Money and Offices had been given to Parliament Men to gain their Interest.

The *French* Trade also was complained of, as being Thirteen Hundred Thousand Pounds an overbalance for ours ; and upon the matter it appeared, that every Thousand Pounds a Year had since the Restoration paid a Hundred Pounds in Taxes to the Crown.

It was also Voted a Grievance, that Justices of the Peace should be summoned to appear before the Council, to account for what they did in their judicial Capacity.

The Business also of *Luzance* took up some time in the House. *Novemb.*
This *Luzance* was a *French* Jesuit, but becoming a Convert to the Church of *England*, inveighed against the Fallacies of the Church of *Rome*, in a Sermon he preached in the *French* Church in the *Savoy*. This alarmed the Papists, and particularly one Doctor *Burnet*, a Jesuit, and Confessor to the Duchess of *York*, who finding him alone in his Chamber, and posting Three Men at the Door, threatened to murder him if he did not make Satisfaction for the Injury, eat his Words, and speedily return to *France*. The Man in this desperate Dilemma promised faithfully whatever was required of him, till he got his Liberty, when presently going to Doctor *Breval*, a converted Jesuit as well as himself, he told him the whole Story ; *Breval* the next Day acquainted me with it, and I communicated it to the House. The Commons took Fire at this, and strait appointed a Committee to examine into the matter, and ordered me to produce *Luzance* the next Day. He appeared accordingly, and averred the Thing for a Truth. This was the first time I presumed to speak in that great Assembly, or in any Committee ; but the next Day I was obliged to do it several times in what concerned this violent Business.

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Upon the Report made from the Committee to the House, my Lord *Cavendish* called me up to give an Account of some other things I had had from *Luxance*. One was that Two *French* Protestants, being Merchants of good Substance and Credit, had been threatned by certain Papists, that if they were not less severe upon the Romanists, they should ere long see the Protestant Blood flow in *London* Streets. A Committee was appointed to enquire into the truth of this matter; and *Luxance* being summoned, gave Evidence to the very self same Effect, and gave it under his own Hand. The Parties he had his Information from being sent for, appeared also, and declared such Threats to have been used towards them by some *French* Papists; but, to what Cause it was owing is uncertain, they gave in only such Names as were of Persons either absent, or of no Estimation; so that little came of this Business. But these and other such Informations, concerning the Height and Insolence of the Papists, did so exasperate the House, that many Motions were made to humble them. Some were for a speedy Confinement of them to the Country, others for Banishment, and some again for disarming them, and the like.

In a short time after, the Matter of Doctor *Shirley's* Petition to the Lords against Sir *John Fag*, was again renewed, tho' it had broke up the Parliament the last time. There were those who thought the King had consented to it, disliking the warm Proceedings of both Houses: While others were of Opinion that the Lords of the Country Interest had perswaded the Doctor thereto, with a View thereby to kindle such a Flame between the two Houses, that the King should be obliged either to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve them: The said Lords apprehending that if this Parliament should sit much longer, the Majority might be gained over by Money and Places, so as to become quite obsequious to the Court; and this My Lord *Hallifax* (then in the Interest of Lord *Shaftsbury* his Uncle, who was upon ill Terms with the Court, being no longer Lord Chancellor) told me was his Opinion.

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But whatever the Cause was, the Effect was such That the Commons refusing to let their Member plead at the Bar of the Lords during a time of Privilege, it was resolved That the Lords by receiving an Appeal from any Court, either of Law or Equity, against a Member of the Lower House, during a Session of Parliament, were thereby Infringers of the Privileges of the Commons of *England*; and that such Lawyers as should attend as Counsel to plead in any such Cause at the Lords Bar, should be deemed as Betrayers of the Rights of the Commons of *England*; and that the said Vote be affixed to the Door of the House of Commons, *Westminster Hall*, and the Inns of Court; which was accordingly done: And the same Day it was Voted by the Lords, that the same was Illegal and Unparliamentary, and tended to the Dissolution of the Government: And upon the whole, that they would not recede from their Right of Judicature by Appeals from the Courts of Equity.

It was then put to the Question, If the King should not be petitioned to dissolve this Parliament, and it was carried in the Negative by no more than Two Votes.

This Misunderstanding between the Houses was very dissatisfactory to the King. The Lords who had Voted for the Dissolution of this Parliament, entered their Protest in the Journal of their House, together with their Reasons for so doing; so that Things being at this Pass, the only Expedient left, was to dismiss the Parliament, which the King did, by Prorogation to the 10th of *February* next.

Before I left *London*, I, at the Interposition of my Lord Ogle, went with his Lordship to see the Duke of *Buckingham*, being well assured that I should be kindly received.

I had a fine Black of about Sixteen Years of Age, presented to me by a Gentleman who brought him over from *Barbadoes*: This Black lived with me some Years, and dyed about this time of an Imposthume in his Head. Six Weeks after he was buried, I received an Account That at *London* it was credibly reported I had caused him to be Gelt, and that the Operation had

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killed him. I laughed at it at first, conscious it was a Falshood, and a ridiculous Story, 'till being further informed that it came from the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Family, with whom I had had some Differences at Law, and that he had waited upon the King to beg my Estate, if it became a Forfeiture by this Felony; I thought it convenient to send for the Coroner to view the Body with a Jury, before it was too far decayed, that a rottenness of the Part might not be imputed to Incision. The Coroner accordingly summons a Jury, and does his Office; but when they came to uncover the Breast, it was so putrified they would go no farther; so that upon the Examination of Eleven Witnesses, some that laid him out, and some that saw him naked, several, because of his Colour, having a Curiosity to see him after he was dead, they gave their Verdict, that he dyed *Ex Visitatione Dei*, by the Hand of God.

This, however, was not thought sufficient; for within a few Days after, there came one *Bright*, a Lawyer, one *Chappel*, an Attorney, (both concerned in the Duke's Affairs,) and one *Buck*, a Surgeon of *Sheffield*, whom I had caused to be prosecuted not long before for having Two Wives, together with some others, with my Lord Chief Justice's Warrant, directed to the Coroner to take up the Body; which the Coroner refused to obey, saying He had done his Office already. These Ambassadors, however, took up the Body, and *Buck*, under pretence of viewing the Part the better, would have taken it up with a Penknife, but it was not suffered, lest by that Instrument he should give the Wound he sought for: But what was not only a Mercy, but a Miracle also, the Part proved to be perfectly sound and entire, tho' the Body had been so long under Ground, and the rest of it was much putrified and decayed; so that Shame of Face and Confusion came pretty plentifully upon the Actors in this extraordinary Scene.

A black and most ridiculous piece of Malice this; for had their Suggestion been proved a Fact, all their Art could never have so fixed it, as to have indangered either my Person or Estate.

Estate. My Lord Chief Justice *Rainsford* acted irregularly and illegally in this Business, his Information not being given in to him upon Oath. And indeed he afterwards confessed he was misled into it, and that the Duke's Solicitor was most pressing and urgent with him, to grant the Warrant. The Duke of *York* told my Brother, He wondered such a stir was made about a Report which must certainly be a flat Falshood: And Lord *Ogle* acquainted me, as did also my Lord Treasurer himself afterwards, That he, meaning the Treasurer, had taken great Pains to prevent the begging of my Estate; and I believed it to be true, but shrewdly doubt it was with Design, had it proved a Forfeiture, to have secured it for himself; I was told as much afterwards. I endeavoured however to reach the Bottom of this Plot, and to procure my self some Reparation, as may be observed hereafter.

Having kept my *Christmasts* in the Country, I no sooner returned to *London* than my Lord Treasurer sent to speak with me. I waited on him therefore, and found him very open in his Discourse upon several Subjects, but for the most part lamenting That his Countrymen would not allow him an Opportunity to be of Service to them with the King, and making many Protestations That the Jealousies of those who called themselves of the Country Party, were entirely groundless and without Foundation: That to his certain knowledge, the King meant no other than to preserve the Religion and Government by Law established; and, upon the whole, wished that neither himself or his Posterity might prosper, if he did not speak what he really believed: That if the Government was in any Danger, it was most from those who pretended such a mighty Zeal for it; but who under that Pretence were endeavoring to create such Discontents between the King and the Nation, as might produce Confusion in the End: And intreated me to be careful how I embarked my self with that sort of People. My reply was, That I hoped I was not one to be wilfully misled; that I should have no Rule to go by in that House but my Reason and Conscience, and that so I could be of no particular Faction or Party: That

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much as I yet understood of the Duty of a Member of the House of Commons at this time, suggested to me a Moderation between the two Extremes, and to have an equal Regard for the Prerogative of the King, and the Liberty of the Subject.

True it is, till now that the Treasurer used such solemn Asseverations, with regard to the King's good Intention, and pretty clearly convinced me that some of the Chiefs of the Country Party had most at Heart their own private Interest, whatever they asserted in favour and Defence of the Public, I had great Notions of the Truth and Sincerity of the Country Party.

Feb. 15,

The Parliament meeting, the King particularly desired a considerable Sum for the building and rigging of Ships. The Country did every thing possible to stint the Sum to Four Hundred Thousand Pounds; while the Courtiers were for a Million, or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds at the least; but the Moderate Men stepped in between with an Offer of Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, which Sum was granted, and for this I gave my Vote, a Sum intended for the building of thirty Men of War of several Rates. My Lord Treasurer took it so kindly that I sided not with those, who did all they could to weaken and distress the Crown, that he would needs carry me to kiss his Majesty's Hand, which I had not yet done since I came to Town; and presented me in the Lobby of the House of Lords, next to the Prince's Lodgings, no Body being present but his Majesty, his Lordship, and my self. He said much more of me to the King than I deserved, but lastly, That as my Family had been always Loyal, he knew I was perfectly inclined to tread in their Footsteps; and that the best way to confirm me in such my Disposition, would be to let me understand how little of Truth there was in the Pretences set on Foot to deceive Gentlemen, and withdraw them from their Duty. "The King said he had known me long, and hoped I knew him so well as to give no Ear to such Reports of him. I know, says he, it is said I aim at the Subversion of the Government and Religion: That I intend to lay aside Parliaments, and to raise Money another way; but every Man, nay those who insist the
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“ most thereon, knows the thing in all its Circumstances to be
 “ false. There is not a Subject that lives under me, whose safety
 “ and welfare I desire less than my own: And I should be as sorry
 “ to invade his Liberty and Property, as that another should in-
 “ vade mine. Those Members, continued the King, who boast this
 “ mighty Friendship for the Public, are of two Sorts; either those
 “ who would actually and irretrievably subvert the Government.
 “ and reduce it to a Commonwealth once more; or else those who
 “ seem only to join with the former, and talk loud against the
 “ Court, purely in hopes to have their Mouths stopped with Places
 or Preferments.” And to say the truth, the Treasurer had named
 some of the Chiefs to me, who had desired so and so of the
 King, and upon such conditions promised to come over.

I made answer to the King, That indeed the Pretences were
 many, and, to some I believed, plausible, that were raised in Op-
 position to what others understood to be for his Majesty's Inte-
 rest: But that they had gained but little on me, who had had the
 Honour of being so long known to his Majesty, and had been so
 lately confirmed in my Belief by Assurances from my Lord Trea-
 surer: That to the best of my Knowledge I should never do
 any thing that became not a true and faithful Subject, or should
 be inconsistent with the Prosperity of his Majesty's Royal Per-
 son and Government. The King said he was very well pleased
 that he had seen me, commanded me to wait on him sometimes,
 and told me I should have Access to him when and wherever
 I desired it.

The Condescension of the King, in giving this Satisfaction to
 so mean a Person, convinced me very much of the Truth of what
 he said; as did also his natural Temper and Constitution; for
 he was not an active, busy, or ambitious Prince, but perfectly a
 Friend to Ease, and fond of Pleasure; he seemed to be chiefly
 desirous of Peace and Quiet for his own time.

At this time a great Dispute arising between the Lord Mar-
 shal of *England*, Lord *Henry Howard*, (tho' commonly called
 Duke of *Norfolk*) and his younger Brothers, they not only
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petitioned the House of Commons in behalf of themselves, but also of their eldest Brother the Duke, whom the said Lord Marshal kept up at *Padua* as a Lunatic, tho' perfectly in possession of his Senses, praying that the House would be pleased to move the King to oblige the Marshal to send for him into *England*. Upon this a Debate arose in the House, every one delivering his Mind according to his Belief, or Prejudices; till at length the Gentlemen of the House who had been at *Padua*, were desired to give their Opinions as to the State and Condition of the Duke. Upon this occasion I declared that at the time I saw him, he laboured under all the Symptoms of Lunacy and Distraction. This being carried to the Lord Marshal, who was very conscious I was indebted to him for no Obligation, he sent a Gentleman to me the next Day, to thank me for my Generosity to a Person who had not seemed to have been so much my Friend as he ought to have been, and touching obliquely on the Affair of the Blackamoor, he said he intended to wait on me to give me some farther Satisfaction as to that.

My Answer to this Message was, That I was surprized at the Compliment from a Gentleman to whom I intended none, what I had said having been with a due-regard only to Truth: That however I was not sorry I had happened to oblige his Lordship by it; and that since he had denied all concern in the iniquitous Affair of my dead Servant, I would prevent his Lordship, and wait on him my self; as I did two or three Days afterwards. He received me with all the civility and kindness imaginable, and wished that neither himself nor Posterity might prosper, if he was in any wise aiding or assisting in the Plot laid against me. I told his Lordship, that I could not but add Faith to his Words; but that if he was not, I was well assured his Servants were; and therefore desired he would give me leave to use my best Endeavours to find it out: With all his Heart, he said, he did not only consent to it, but would moreover assist me in the Inquiry; and so, with all possible Demonstrations of Friendship, we parted.

I very often visited and dined with my Lord Treasurer, and often waited on the King, who, when he saw me, would ask me how things went forward; and particularly I this Day entertained him a long while, in the Duchess of York's Bedchamber, with what had then been transacting in the House of Commons. 1676. March 18.

This Session had gone on smoothly and sedately enough, in both Houses, My Lord Treasurer having so ordered it, that the King's Party encreased rather than the other; but it was much feared that some Votes were obtained more by Purchase than Affection; and with this we close up the Year.

The Commons Voted a Second Address to the King, That he would be pleased to contract Alliances for the Preservation of *Flanders* in the Hands of the King of *Spain*; but with this Restriction, That his Majesty should not be obliged to return any Answer to the House, upon the Subject of the said Address; tho' a Number who would have drawn him into Inconveniences, would have had him urged to declare his Intentions therein; by which he must have either disobliged the Nation on the one hand, or on the other have declared War with *France*, before he was prepared to prosecute it. 1677. March 29.

The King and the Duke had both of them much interested themselves in the Affair of my Election, which being to be tryed very soon, His Majesty gave orders to his Servants that were of the House, to attend the Committee, and assist me with their best Services when it came on. The same Day the Duke of *Albemarle* came down to engage his Friends to be for me, nor did the Duke of *York* forget to concern himself very earnestly in my behalf. April 12.

The same Day being alone with the Lord Treasurer, in his Coach as he was going to *Westminster*, I told him that some of the Discontented had resolved to hasten the Money-Bill as fast as might be, that so the House might rise before *Easter*, and the Public Bills, that were preparing, be left unpassed; hoping thereby to incense the Nation, and bring about Cause of Complaint against the King, as if he called the Parliament together

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1677. *for nothing but to get Money from them.* His Lordship answered, That the King, well aware of the Design, would prevent it by a Message, that Day to be delivered to the House by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, to this Effect, That if ought remained undone, which the House judged necessary to be done for the good of the Nation, the King would allow them a sufficient time after *Easter*, and that when they were ready, His Majesty would pass their Bills; a Message that was accordingly delivered.

My Lord Treasurer sent for me among others, desiring us to assist what we could, towards the Reconciliation of a Difference likely to take place between the two Houses, about framing the Bill for the Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, to be given to the King, which might indanger the Loss of the same: For the Commons had made a Clause therein, injoining the Officers of the Exchequer to give them an Account of the Disbursement and Distribution of the said Sum; while the Lords had inserted that they should be accountable to both Houses. This the Commons would not suffer, alledging The Lords could neither add to nor take away from a Money-Bill; for that as it was peculiar to them only to give Money, it was to them only that Account was to be given how it was applied. The Lords to this replied, That to deny them the Power of calling the Officers of the Exchequer to a Reckoning, was to abridge them of the Privilege of Judicature they undoubtedly had as the Supreme Court; and by way of Precedent observed, That when the Convention gave Money for the disbanding of the Army, an Account of the same was ordered to be laid before their House as well as the other. They both adhered tenaciously to their Point, till the King at length prevailed with the Lords to erase their Clause; and so the Commons got the better of the Day.

It was not long before this, That the King of *France*, having obtained a Victory over the Prince of *Orange*, did in his return by *Calais* send over the Duke of *Crequy*, and the Archbishop of *Rheims*, to pay a Compliment to our King, who returned it by My Lord *Sunderland*. This gave just Cause to think there would be

be no War between the two Kings, contrary to what the Parliament had so earnestly advised. I saw a Copy of the Letter these Ambassadors brought with them; beginning with this Stile or Title, *Tres haut, tres Excellent & tres Puissant Prince, tres cher tres aimé bon Frère Cousin & Allié*: And in Truth our King's Neutrality deserved all this from *France*, and much more.

Not long after, having the Opportunity of a private Conversation with the Treasurer; I complained to him of the Injustice done me in the foolish Story of my Black's Castration, as also of the King's readiness to grant away my Estate. He said he did not believe the King had given it, for that he had begged of him not to be too hasty in that particular, believing the Report to be a malicious Lye: But that he was of Opinion with me, that now was a fit time to ask his Majesty for something by way of Reparation, and that he would assist me therein. His Lordship was upon this Occasion so open with me as to tell me, That tho' the King denied scarce any thing to the Duke, his Brother, he certainly did not love him at his Heart.

He told me also That the King had no mind to fall out with *France*; and that if the Parliament would effectually engage him in that War, their way would be to furnish him with Sums of Money to prepare for it, and that no less than Six Hundred Thousand Pounds would be absolutely Necessary for that Purpose. That if the King accepted of this, he would be obliged to carry on the War; but that if the Parliament would not trust him, he was in the right not to embark himself, and might justly argue, *How can I depend on my Parliament to furnish me with regular and equal Supplies to carry on a War, which they will not so much as enable me to prepare for?* But I easily saw through this; I plainly perceived it was all Artifice to get the fingering of Money.

He moreover said, That the King could not in Honour join the Confederates against *France*: That in all the Treaties the King of *England* had been mentioned as Principal in the War: That in the beginning he did actually join with *France*, and that

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that for him now to turn his Arms against that Crown, would look neither just nor honourable in the Eye of the World. This his Lordship told me was the King's own way of Arguing, whenever War hapned to be the Subject of their Discourse together; but that his Answer to his Majesty was, That he needed not be so regardful of that Transaction, the *French* King having plaid him the very same Trick, when Chancellor *Hyde* was chief Minister. To this he replied, That the *French* King had a Pique against the Lord Chancellor: To which the Treasurer subjoined, That whatever was the Cause, the thing was as he had said.

He was so free also as to tell me still further, That the Duke was the Grand Promoter of the *French* Interest, and that he now made his Court to the Sectaries and Fanaticks, only to give Strength and Vigour to the Popish Interest: That his Highness was so very a Bigot, that tho' the Archbishop of *Rheims* made no Scruple to go into our Churches, and even kneel down during the time of Divine Service, the Duke at the same time could not be prevailed on so much as to step within the Doors. He observed that the Duke was particularly unhappy in his Servants, a senseless Pack; but that indeed his Confessor was a notable Man, and one that had a great Influence over him; being as well as his Master averse to a War with *France*. His Lordship, however, declared himself for it.

The next Day I went to visit the Duke and Dutcheß of *Lau-therdale*, at their fine House at *Ham*. Dinner over, Her Grace entertained me in her Chamber with much Discourse upon Affairs of State. A beautiful Woman she had been, the supposed Mistress of *Oliver Cromwell*, and at that time a Lady of great Parts. Both Her Grace and the Duke her Husband, were entirely in the Treasurer's Interest. Her chief Complaint was, That the Duke so adhered to Papists and Fanaticks, and so put the King upon changing the Deputies of *Ireland*, and all purely for the Subservience of the *Romish* Interest; and in short, let me into the Secret of many things I had never so much as heard of before; and particularly acquainted me with the State and Bent
of

of Scotland, which, as her Husband was Lord Commissioner, she was well able to do. 1677

The Day after I went to ask Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, if any Entry had been made in his Office concerning my Estate? He answered He durst only own it to me in private, but that upon some Rumour of a Forfeiture, by some Act of mine, it was true that Mr. *Felton*, of the Bedchamber, had begged it of the King, and entered a *Caveat* thereof at his Office.

Upon this I prevailed with my Lord Treasurer to go with me to the King, of whom I begged two Things, namely, That he would be pleased to order Mr. Secretary *Williamson* to raze a *Caveat* that had been entered with him, upon his Majesty's granting away my Estate to Mr. *Felton*, reputed to be forfeited by my pretended felonious Practices with the Blackamoor that dyed in my Service: And that also he would be pleased to lay his Commands upon my Lord Chief Justice *Rainsford*, to discover to me at whose Sollicitation, or upon what Suggestion it was his Lordship issued out his Warrant to the Coroner to take up the Body, after it had been so long interred.

To the *First* the King answered, He did not remember any grant he had made of my Estate to any Person whatsoever, but that if any such *Caveat* was entered, he would see that it was expunged. As for the *Second*, He directed my Lord Treasurer to send one with me to my Lord Chief Justice, as from him, to do as I had desired; which his Lordship did the next Day by his Secretary. When we came to him, he told us the whole Matter, and begged I would excuse him for having been so very forward in that Affair; and indeed he had good Reason so to do, having done more than he could justify; for he had granted his Warrant upon a bare Suggestion, that the Moor had dyed by such an Act, without taking any Information either in Writing or upon Oath.

The Parliament met at *Westminster* pursuant to Adjournment; and the King, in his Speech, told the House, He could not make such Alliances as they desired, except they gave him Money, to make Preparations for War. The Commons did not approve of this, May 21.

1677. this, and Voted that no Money should be raised, till the King had first entered into a League Offensive and Defensive with *Holland*, and the rest of the United Provinces, for the safety of these Kingdoms, the recovery of *Flanders*, and to abate the Power of the *French* King.

May 28.

In answer to this, the King said, They had exceeded the Bounds and Methods of Parliament, That they entrenched on his Prerogative, by not only directing him to make Alliances, but by pointing out to him what those Alliances should be, and with whom to be made. That the Power of making Peace or War resided wholly in himself, and that if they took that from him, he should have nothing left but the empty name of King, and no more, and that in such case, no Prince or State would enter into Engagements with him. Upon the whole, He rejected the Address, but would use such Means as became him for the Preservation of his Kingdoms; adjourning them to the 16th Day of *July* following.

In the mean time, having heard that my Lord *Yarmouth* was one that had begged my Estate, upon Occasion of the Death of my Black, and understanding that his Lordship was come to Town; I presently waited on him at his House, and being with some Difficulty admitted (for I had never seen him) I asked him if the thing was true? Whereupon he bitterly swore he had never asked it of the King, and that he never knew any thing of it, farther than that one *Wright*, Solicitor to the Lord *Henry Howard*, did come and acquaint him That there was likely to be such a Forfeiture, and advised him to use his Interest with the King for it; but that he absolutely gave no Ear to the Proposal, saying, *He would never be the richer for the Misfortunes of others*: That he believed it was pure Malice against me, and that he would serve me all he could to find out the Authors of it. In short, I got it from under his Hand, That he was neither directly or indirectly concerned in begging my Estate.

The very same Day, I found out Mr. *Wright*, and threatned to bring my Action of Scandal against him, upon the Information I had

had received from my Lord *Yarmouth*, if he did not let me in-
to the whole Intrigue. He then ingenuously confessed, That both
Bright and *Chappel* beforementioned, had given him an Account
of the Moor's Death, with all the Circumstances of his pretended
Castration, and with all Assurance of the Truth of what they
said; and that he telling the Story to Lord *Henry Howard*,
his Lordship sent him to Lord *Yarmouth*, advising him to beg
my Estate of the King, and that he begged it accordingly. I
was now much surprized that two Noblemen should make their
Honour so cheap, and deny a real Fact with such Oaths and
Asseverations; but considering with my self that to make more
stir in the thing, would be only to make a great deal of Noise
about a very foolish Story, I contented my self with this satis-
faction, that as a Sign of their Shame and Repentance, they had
both given themselves the Lye.

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At this time was the Marriage agreed on, between the Prince
of *Orange*, and the Lady *Mary*, first Daughter to his Royal
Highness, to the great Joy of the Nation; for his Highness be-
ing a Protestant Prince, this Match in a great measure dispelled
the Fears that the Majority had conceived concerning Popery.
Lord *Danby*, the Treasurer, was believed to have promoted this
Alliance, and got good Reputation by it.

Oct. 19.

The Parliament which was to have met upon the 3d of *De-*
cember, was by Proclamation prorogued to the 4th of *April*; but
nevertheless, the Public Business requiring it, the Day was short-
ned, and they were to meet on the 10th of *January*, but when
the time came, they were adjourned for 15 Days.

26.

I Dined with my Lord Treasurer, who received me very
kindly; and the next Day I kissed the King's Hand, and the
Duke's. His Highness, among other things, told me the Rea-
son of this short Adjournment was because the King could not
so fully acquaint both Houses, why they were called together at
this time, till he had a more perfect Account of a Treaty now
upon the Carpet with *Spain*; and after some other Discourse of
Public Concern, I gave him some Assurances of Duty and Re-
spect,

Nov. 2.

1677. spect, which by a former, tho' false Report he had some Reason to doubt of.

The Parliament met, and the King, in his Speech, informed them That he was entered in a strict Alliance with the Prince of *Orange*, and the United Provinces, to oppose the Growth of the *French* King, and the Progress of his Arms in *Flanders*; and desired he might have Money to enable him to fulfil his Engagements.

Nov. 28. The Commons immediately Voted an Address of Thanks to the King, for the Care he had taken of the Protestant Religion, in marrying his Niece to the Prince of *Orange*; but observed they could grant no Supplies for the War, if His Majesty and His Allies would not engage not to lay down their Arms, till the Treaty of the *Pyrenées* was performed, and till the *French* King was reduced to the Condition he then was in; for that without this, neither this Kingdom, nor the rest of Christendom was safe.

30. They now Voted the Sum of Seventy Thousand Pounds, to be raised for the Royal Interrment of King *Charles* the Martyr, and for erecting a Monument to his Memory.

Supping this Night with my Lord Treasurer, he told me He fully had intended to solicit the King to do something for me; but, if he had really meant it, I knew he might have done it long before then.

Feb. 4. The King sent us an Answer to our Address, and therein pressed us to raise Money to carry on the War, and to prevail on us the more effectually, he acquainted us with the Alliances he had made; which so wrought upon the House, That the Question being put, it was carried by Two and Forty Voices, to assist his Majesty in the War, and to consider of the way to do it; but it being late, the Debate was put off till the next Morning.

5. The next Morning I waited on the Duke of *York*, and had a great deal of Discourse with him concerning this matter; and being the Night before with my Lord Treasurer, the Scheme was laid how to proceed the next Day.

Great

Great Debates had arisen upon this Affair, and the reason of the violent Opposition it met with, was a Desire in some to oppose the Crown, tho' in the very thing they themselves wished for, the Nation being ever desirous of a War with *France*; and a jealousy in others, That the King indeed intended to raise an Army, but never designed to go on with the War, and, to say the Truth, some of the King's own Party were not very sure of the Contrary. However, the Commons soon after Voted Money for the raising of Six and Twenty Regiments of Foot, Four of Horse, and Two of Dragoons, together with a Navy of Ninety Men of War, for a War with *France*. 1677.

A few Days afterwards, I acquainted the King and the Duke with some of the Transactions of the House, and of the Doubts some had there expressed concerning the Ratification of the Peace betwixt us and *Holland*. To which the King replied, "That the League offensive and defensive was actually signed by the States, so that they could not now recede, but that the Ratification was not yet sealed, the several Provinces not having yet confirmed the Act of their Deputies, and of the Council of Eight who had received it."

The great Business of granting an Aid to the King came on Debate in the House, where it was thoroughly controverted, and many Difficulties were started, and many Mistrusts of the King. Among others, I spoke and attempted to shew the necessity there was for a Trust at this time, and how impossible it was (tho' some ground might appear for it) to recede at this Hour of the Day. Feb. 18.

The next Day the Commons Voted a Million, to enable the King to make War with *France*, for the Preservation of *Flanders*. 27.

We had at this time News that the *French* had taken *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and that *Ostend* was besieged; whereupon the King caused Sixteen Hundred Men to be immediately drawn out of his Guards and other Forces here, and sent them to *Ostend*, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*; in short, this News quite alarmed *Flanders*, *Holland* and *England*. The Commons

1677. particularly concerned themselves therein, and now grown warm, they begin to reflect on the King's ill Councils, that had not advised him to a War before. No Man was named, but they plainly pointed at the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Treasurer.

Feb. 28. Attending the King's Levee, His Majesty told me, and some other Members then present, "That except the Money Voted " was speedily raised, it would come after the *French King* had " done his Work." His Highness also told me the same Morning, that his Friends would have a hard Talk of it that Day, he being informed That some of the House had resolved to renew the Debate concerning ill Councillors; but I assured him it was not likely, having but the Day before heard a Leader of the anti-court Party say, It was no time to raise Disputes at Home, now that we were in such a way of being embroiled abroad; and it proved even as I had said.

March 2. But after all, News came that *Ghent* and *Bruges* had not been taken, as had been reported; and moreover, that *Monf. Rouvigny* was coming over, on the Part of *France*, with Tenders of Peace. The Parliament started at this, and grew Jealous the Offers would be accepted; but still our Forces marched onwards, in their way to *Ostend*; and two Days afterwards the Bill for raising Money, by way of Poll, was perfected, when the King and the Duke talked much of a War, tho' still it was suspected their Hearts were more inclined for Peace.

10. His Highness told me, He was informed of a Design in the House of Commons, to fall upon him and my Lord Treasurer, and desired me to oppose it. My Lord Treasurer assured me of the same thing, and that it was to be done that very Day. That, among other Articles, they laid to his Charge a Treaty between the King and the Prince of *Orange*; but that in reality there was no such Treaty; and had it been, he did not think it had been disadvantageous to *England*. Another of his Crimes, he said, would be for advising the King to make a Peace, which he never did; tho' it was not impossible but such Design there might be; but that if so it were, it proceeded from nothing but the

the King's own Judgment, who was that way very much bent, 1678.
if lawful it were so to say.

Now several Speeches were made in the House, full fraught *March 14.*
of Jealousies and Fears, and particularly with regard to the Army at this time levying; as if it rather intended to erect absolutely Monarchy at home, than infest the Enemy abroad. Complaints were made of evil Councils, and of the Councillors, but still no Body was named. A long Debate it proved, and in the end produced an Address to the King, That before they proceeded to give any more Money, His Majesty would be pleased to declare War with *France*, and withdraw his Ambassador from that Court. It was also stiffly contended, That a part of this Address should be to entreat the King to put away those evil Councillors from about him, who had advised him to adjourn the Parliament in *May* last, and prevented a War with *France* all this time; but this being put to the Question, it was carried in the Negative; it was carried but by Five Votes only.

The Commons then resolved, That a Day should be appointed to consider of the State of the Kingdom with regard to Popery: And Three Days afterwards my Lord Treasurer sent for several Members of the House, and me among others, to the Treasury Chamber. His Lordship there told us, It became all good Subjects to withstand all such Motions and Proceedings, which tended only to perplex the Minds of Men, and disturb the Public Tranquility; in short, to raise Jealousies against the Government. The Duke also, among other things, told me, It would be to disarm all Popish Recusants, which he seemed to think a ridiculous Thing; and here we put a Period to this Year. 16.

At this time, many well meaning Men began to fear the Army now raised, was rather intended to awe our own Kingdom, than to War against *France*, as had at first been suggested; and now it being put to the Question, whether an Address should be made to the King, for laying aside Duke *Lautherdale*, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it was carried in the Negative by one Vote only. 1678. *May 8.*

1678.

The Question was put again, and carried, That such Councilors as had advised the King to make such Answers to the late Addresses from his Parliament, being Betrayers of the King and Kingdom, or to that Effect, an Address should be humbly presented to his Majesty, to lay them aside from his Councils, and remove them from their other Employments. This Address was accordingly presented, and his Majesty's Answer was this, That they were so extravagant in the Contents of it, that he was not willing to make such Reply to it as it deserved. *Lautherdale* was particularly named. And the same Day it was carried, tho' but by one Voice in a full House, That the King's Message lately sent them to consider of some Means for a Supply to his Majesty, for paying off his Fleet, should not be observed.

May 10.

13.

The King understanding the Tide of their Proceedings to run so very high, prorogued them to the 23^d of the same Month, which put a stop to their farther Proceedings.

It was, at this time generally believed That Peace was concluded between us, the Confederates, and the King of *France*. We blamed the States for their ready Compliance; the States blamed the *Spaniard* who was full of his Offers, while he had neither Men, Arms, or Money in *Flanders* to defend it; and they both fell upon the Parliament of *England*, who when they should have given Money, and made other Preparations for the War, were wasting their time in quarrelling at home with the Government, and with each other.

23.

The Parliament met, pursuant to Adjournment, when the King spoke to them a little more briskly than usual. He told them, a Peace was near upon Conclusion between *France* and the Confederates, at which they were extremely concerned. This Peace with *France*, when there was like to be so strong an Union combined to reduce that proud and potent King to a better Sense of himself, was very ungrateful News to *England*; and therefore the King, to throw the Blame of it upon the Commons, told us, in his Speech, It was owing to their refusal of Money, till something was done for the Security of their Religion; their Negligence

1678.

gligence to direct or advise him concerning the intended War, or to assist him till he had changed Councillors, and consequently the little Hopes the Confederates could have of Help from him; that this, together with the low Condition of *Spain*, had prompted them to lend an Ear to offers of Peace; not to speak of the sluggish Motion of the *Germans*, the Difficulty of getting them together, their Princes being influenced by such discordant Views and Interests, and the present Poverty of the States General, all which had contributed towards the Cessation of the War.

But still our King was chiefly condemned in this great Affair, as he so long deferred to engage in this Alliance; which, had he sooner done, the *French* King had never dared to persist in the War; at least he could not have made so great a Progress in *Flanders*, or have been able to make so good a Market for himself, as he did by this Peace.

To this our King made Answer, He could not have believed the *French* King would have been able to weather out a War so well as he did, tho' in a manner against all *Europe*, Himself and the King of *Sweden* only excepted, who sat Neuters: And that in case this Number of Enemies had humbled that Kingdom, *England* might well have been satisfied with the having been an unconcerned Looker-on, while she engrossed all the Commerce of *Europe*, and might in the end have reaped an equal Share of Advantage with even the Labourers themselves, who had been at all the Pains and Expence.

The Commons Voted Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, to be given for disbanding the Army; but under great Restrictions, fearing the King might take the Money, and convert it to other Uses. Wherefore great Penalties were levelled against the Officers of the Exchequer, and others, through whose Hands it was to pass, to prevent their diverting it from its right Channel, and this done, the Money was cheerfully given, the Nation, and its Representatives, dreading nothing so much, at that time, as a standing Army.

June 4.

About

1678.

June 22.

About this time there was fresh Discourse about a War with *France*, the *French* King and ours not agreeing concerning the Interest of the King of *Sweden*, which the *French* would have to be adjusted, before they would deliver up the Towns they had taken in *Flanders*: But, by what I heard, I thought the thing had but an unlikely Aspect, and particularly as I had seen the King, Duke, and *French* Ambassador so verry often merry, and intimate together at the Duchefs of *Portsmouth's* Lodgings, laughing at those who believed it in earnest.

Octob. 10.

Now came the first News of the Popish Plot, or a Design of the Papists to kill the King. No Body can conceive, that was not a Witness thereof, what a Ferment this raised among all Ranks and Degrees. Being at this time in the Country, I hurried to Town with my Family.

21.

The Parliament met, and the King in his Speech told us, He had kept the Army on foot longer than by the Act for disbanding it was allowed; but that he had done it to preserve the rest of *Flanders*, which had proved an Expensive Precaution to him; That he was deeply in Debt; That his Revenue would not defray the Charge of the Government; That he would satisfy them as to this, by laying the whole Scheme of his Income before them, and that he then doubted not but they would make him a proper Augmentation. That there had been a Design against his Life by the Jesuits and their Friends; but that he would not descend to the Particulars of the thing, lest some should think he said too little, and others, that he said too much: In a word, he left the whole to their Discovery.

The Two Houses, (but the Commons especially) took fire at this, and immediately Voted an Address to the King, That all Papists should be sent Ten Miles from *London*. And now came on the Tragedy of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; and now also appeared Doct. *Oates*, who, as he pretended, having some Jealousy of what was in Agitation, dissembled himself a Papist, and got Admittance of the Jesuits College at *St. Omers*, where seeing into the whole Matter, he told it to one Doct. *Tongue*, an *English* Divine,

Divine, who told it to my Lord Treasurer, who privately told it 1678.
to the King, in such manner that the thing was stifled and latent *Octob. 23.*
for a whole Month. But being with the King at the Duchess of
Portsmouth's Lodgings, my Lord Treasurer also being present,
the King told me, "He took it to be some Artifice, and that he
" did not believe one word of the whole Story."

Coleman's Affair made also a Noise, and seemed in some sort 25.
to confirm the other. He made very free with his Highness's
Name upon several important Articles, tho' the Duke was an
utter Stranger to his Correspondence, as he desired his Friends
of both Houses to declare for him. The Commons, however,
were very angry with my Lord Treasurer, for keeping the Plot
so long in the Dark, seeing the King might have been made a-
way with in the mean time. This News I first of any Body com-
municated to his Lordship, in the Presence of the King, who
said, "My Lord was in no Fault as to that; he having com-
" manded him to keep it Secret, the better to make Discovery
" of what Truth there might be therein."

Now to enter into the Particulars of this Plot, real or pre-
tended, is not the Design of this Work; the several Narratives
of the Witnesses before the Two Houses of Parliament, and the
Courts of Justice, upon the Tryals of the Parties accused, will
give sufficient Insight and Satisfaction, as to all that can be said
of it. Thus much we may, however, observe, that tho' a great
deal of what was advanced and confidently related, bore the
Face of Improbability, yet such was the Torrent of the Times,
that no doubt was to be made of all that was heard.

All the beginning of this Month was taken up by the Com- *November.*
mons, in examining of Witnesses concerning the Plot, who came
in very plentifully, the King having, at the Request of the
Commons, granted Indemnity to all who should make any Dis-
covery, tho' ever so deeply and blackly engaged themselves, and
not only Indemnity, but Substinance in to the Bargain. At length
the Commons came to this Resolution, That upon the Evidence
which appeared from *Coleman's* Letters, and the Informations of
Oates

1678.

Oates and others, it was plain there was a hellish and damnable Design to assassinate and murder the King, and to subvert the Religion and Government as by Law established.

The House of Lords now requested his Royal Highness, to withdraw himself from the King's Councils, and he complied with the Request; but the Commons went a Step higher, and were for removing him from about the King's Person. There were those in the House who argued the Danger of this, observing that his Highness might be thereby tempted to put himself at the Head of the Popish Faction. Some there were also, who moved That the Duke should be sent out of *England*. The King and Duke both, spoke to all their Friends to oppose this, and it was effectually done; for no Resolution being taken that Day, the Debate was adjourned to the 8th Instant. But tho' it came not to the Vote, the House was generally of Opinion, That the Duke's being of that Religion was what principally encouraged the Papists to such wicked Attempts: In short, they were, by Proclamation, banished to the Distance of ten Miles from *London*.

Nov. 6, 7.

While *Coleman's* Letters were under the Consideration of the House, I waited several times on my Lord Treasurer, who had called several of us together, to consult us about an Act to lessen the Popish Interest in this Kingdom; when his Lordship told us, The King was willing something should be enacted, *To pare* (as his Expression was) *the Nails of a Popish Successor*; but that he would never suffer his Brother to be taken away from him, or the right Line of the Succession to the Crown to be interrupted; and to the same Effect the King spoke to the two Houses the next Day.

To pass over other things more generally known, a Jealousy now seemed to arise between the Duke and my Lord Treasurer. The Duke thought his Lordship was within himself for his leaving the Court, that so he might have the King the more absolutely in his own Power: And my Lord (tho I believe he endeavoured to serve the Duke all he could, tho' no Friend to his Religion) resented

resented the Duke's Suspicion. Much was, at this time, done and transacted, in disfavour of the Popish Party; and particularly it was now that the Lords passed that great Bill to incapacitate such of their *Roman* Catholic Members as should refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy; tho' my Lord High Treasurer said in my Hearing, but the Night before, He was sure it would never pass in that House.

The Duke of *Holstein's* Resident had, it seems, reported the Lord Treasurer to be in the Pay and Pension of *France*. Thus, at least, had his Lordship been informed, and sending for him, he sent for me also to be present at the Examination; but the Resident absolutely denied what was laid to his Charge. To make amends for this, I, a few Days after, acquainted his Lordship, That the same Gentleman had assured me, the Commons would most certainly fall upon him, and that it was in his power to turn the Edge of one that was most violent against him. I told him also, that I had, from other Hands, been informed, that my Cousin *Ralph Montague*, since Lord *Montague*, lately recalled from being Ambassador in *France*, and now Member of our House, would accuse him there. But my Lord gave no Ear to either of these; saying, The latter durst not impeach him, for that he had Letters to shew from him, whilst Ambassador, that would prove how officious he was to persuade him, to accept of the *French* King's Money, tho' he absolutely refused it. The same Day the Duke told me, He expected to be attacked by the Commons, and hoped his Friends would stand firm to him; and Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Secretary of State, was, by the House, committed to the Tower, for passing the Musters of some Popish Officers, without tendering them the Oaths, tho' he had his Majesty's Orders for so doing.

Bedloe, the Evidence, went on apace, but being this Day with the King, his Majesty told me, "*Bedloe* was a Rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given some false Evidence, concerning the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*."

1678.
Nov. 21. In preparing the Bill for purging the House of Lords of such as refused the new Test, it was put to the Question, Whether or no His Royal Highness should be excused from taking it, and it was carried in the Affirmative, but by no more than Two Votes : Had it been carried in the Negative, he would, in the next place, have been Voted away from the King's Presence. And now all the Popish Lords, three excepted, were expelled the House of Peers.

Decemb. 1. Having proceeded thus far, the Commons Voted an Address to the King, from that House, to represent the ill State of the Nation, and the Danger it was in, by his Majesty's adhering to private Councils rather than to his Two Houses of Parliament : This aimed at my Lord Treasurer, and some others of the Cabinet Council. This was carried by Two and Twenty Votes, and even some of the Courtiers were for it ; whence it was by some surmised, That the Duke, being no longer in Councils, was grown jealous of the Treasurer, and had a mind he should be removed. It was now said the Duke had been persuaded (but unjustly) that his Lordship endeavoured to insinuate into the King, that there was something of Probability in the Accusation against the Queen, purely that he might hearken to a Divorce, and marry another more likely to bring Children to the Crown.

16. The Commons were now intent upon disbanding the Army, raising of Money for that purpose, and the Conviction of Popish Recusants ; during which the Right of the Lords to interfere in a Money-Bill was warmly contested ; but not to dwell on so nice a Subject, the King caused Mr. *Montague's* Papers to be seized, and acquainted the House of Commons, That having been his Ambassador at the *French* Court, he had taken on him to treat with the Pope's Nuncio, without any Commission from him for so doing ; and that he had seized his Papers to come at the Purport of the said Treaty. But *Montague* assured the House, that this was a meer Artifice, a contrivance of the Treasurer's to save himself ; but that his Lordship had therein failed, for that altho' most of his Letters were seized, he had by good luck saved the most

most material. One of them, dated the 25th of *March* 1678, instructed him to acquaint that Court with the great Difficulties he met withal here in the Affair of Peace between us and them, and the fear there was the Parliament should discover it: That however he had orders from the King to bid him treat with them for a Peace, as well between them and the Confederates, as our selves; upon Condition, the *French* King would give ours Six Hundred Thousand Livers *per Annum*, for Three Years together, after the Conclusion of the Peace; for that as our King would thereby disgust the Parliament, he could expect no Money from them of so long a time: And finally, That when he wrote back to the Secretary, concerning this Transaction, he should be silent as to the Money, and so on. Signed, *Danby*. 1678.

This put the House into a Flame, and a motion was instantly made, That the Treasurer should be impeached of High Treason; for that he had endeavoured to estrange the King from his Parliament, and make it of no use to him; and one Mr. *Powel* observed, That this was usurping a Power to the Exclusion of other Councillors, who had a Right to advise the King as well as himself; the very Treason that was laid to the charge of the *Spencers*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, in the Days of *Richard* the Second.

But it was answered, That it was no such great Offence to write this by the King's own Order, as was expressed in the Letter itself, and would be owned, as supposed, by the King at this Time. That the King had certainly a Power to advise with which of his Councillors he pleased; and that if his Majesty foresaw the Confederates would strike up a Peace, which we must comply with, where was the Harm of making what Advantage we could of it to our selves, and at the same time of sparing the Purfes of the Subject?

A second Letter was produced, which gave Assurance of Inclinations for a very fair Understanding between us and his Most Christian Majesty; together with Advice to hasten the Peace; because the Duke seemed every Day more and more

1678.

averse to it ; and mentioned some Towns to be given up, by the *French*, as cautionary, to the Confederates, upon the Conclusion of this Peace. Mr. *Montague* then declared in the House, That the *French* King was willing to deliver up Two Towns more than he did by the former Treaty ; but that my Lord Treasurer was so earnest and pressing for Money, that he thereby made the Terms much worse for the Confederates ; but at the same time acknowledged he could not say he knew of any Money paid either to him or to his Majesty. Other things were now laid to the Treasurer's Charge, as the Male-administration of his Office, and the Lowness of the Exchequer : But to this it was answered, by his Lordship's Friends, That a Debt of Six Hundred Thousand Pounds had been paid off since he had been in Office, tho' no Money had in all that time been given to the King, but what had been appropriated to the Uses designed.

He was farther accused, (this Letter bearing Date the 25th of of *March* 1678, and the Act which gave Money to the King to enter into a War with *France* being passed but the 20th) of deluding the Nation, in advising the King to take Money for raising an Army for Service abroad, and at the same time treating for Money from *France* to make a Peace, which looked as if a standing Army was designed to humble *England*, and not *France*. In short, the Question being put, it was resolved, That an Impeachment be drawn up against the Lord Treasurer, and a Committee was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

Mr. *Montague* was, in this case, justly censured, for disclosing what had passed through his Hands, when a public Minister, without the King's Leave. Mean while, the Treasurer endeavoured to destroy the Credit of his Accuser, and produced some Letters from him, when in *France*, which were read in the House, and made it appear that *Montague* had been very guilty of the Offences he threw upon his Lordship : But his Enemies were so many and so powerful, that the whole Edge was bent against him ; in a Word, the Tide was not to be stemmed, and Six Articles of Impeachment were drawn up against him.

But

But a Debate arose, whether, supposing any of these Articles to be true, they amounted to High Treason, none of them being within the Statute of *Edward III.* At length the Question being put, whether or no an Impeachment of High Treason, founded upon the said Articles against his Lordship, should be carried up to the House of Lords, the Ayes were 179, and the Noes 130. The Impeachment then was carried up to the Bar of the House of Lords, where it being presently debated, whether or no his Lordship should withdraw, it was carried in the Negative by 20 Voices; and then both Houses adjourned for *Christmas Eve*, and *Christmas Day* only. 1678. Jan. 23.

The Houses met, and the Commons heard some Evidence concerning the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and quarrelled with the Lords on account of the Amendment they had made in the Money-Bill for disbanding the Army. The same Day I spoke both with the King and the Duke, who both declared they would adhere to my Lord Treasurer. 26.

The next Day the Lords Voted, That he should not be committed: And the same Day the Dispute between the Two Houses, concerning the Money-Bill, was decided by a Conference, and the Bill passed both Houses. And here I cannot but take Notice, that the King observing the Lord *Strafford* to be very violent in the House against the Lord *Danby*, (which, it seems, took birth from a Personal Pique to him, for obstructing a Pension he had from the Crown) told me, "He wondered at it much, " seeing his Father came to the unfortunate End he did, by the " very self same Method of Procedure." 27.

And now, when it was least expected, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 4th of *February*; some said in favour of the Papists, others of the Lord Treasurer, and others again in Defence of his Prerogative, which was more than one way invaded by the Commons: But his Majesty at the same time declared he intended to disband the Army, and prosecute the Business of the Plot. *Montague* was now discovered in a Disguise at *Dover*, in his way to *France*. 30.

My

1678.
Jan. 24.

My Lord Treasurer sent for me, and told me, The King had declared he would dissolve the Parliament, and advised me to make Interest as soon as I could against the approaching Election, for that another Parliament would speedily be called. This Parliament was, for the most part, very Loyal both to the King and the Church; which made those of adverse Sentiments very desirous of its Dissolution; and the way they contrived to bring it about, as was credibly reported, was by persuading the Treasurer to obtain it of the King, promising if he should succeed therein, That there should be no farther Prosecution against him in the next Parliament; but they deceived him, as he afterwards experienced.

31.

Both the King and the Duke advised me to stand for the next Parliament, and both of them assured me, not only of my Government of *Burlington*, but of their Assistance also, if it came to a controverted Election.

Feb. 14.

Accordingly a Proclamation coming out for the Election of a new Parliament, my Lord Treasurer conducted me to His Majesty, and thanked him for his Promise of continuing me in my Government; to which the King replied, That I had served him faithfully, and that he intended to be kind to me. My Lord Treasurer wrote also to the High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, to be favourable to me in the Return; to conclude, having taken leave of the Duke of *Monmouth*, I left the Town to go into the Country.

March 6.

The Parliament met, but a Difference arose about the Choice of a Speaker, the House being for one, and the King recommending another; wherefore they refused to enter upon Business, but adjourned to the 7th Instant, then to the 8th, and so to the 10th. The next Day I met the King in his Royal Robes, and with his Crown upon his Head, as he came out of the House of Lords: He stopped to ask me If I was elected? To which replying Yes, he said, He was glad of it. Upon my Return to Town, I, to the surprise of all Men, found that the King had commanded the Duke to go into *Flanders*: Some said the Treasurer

1678.
surer had brought this to pass, that he might engross the King to himself; others said it was to divert the Violence of both Houses against his Highness, from the Suspicion of some that he was of the Plot. But I presume it was chiefly intended to extirpate all Jealousies in the Parliament, That he was influenced by Popish Councils, tho' even from his own Brother.

The Commons began to be angry with the Treasurer, for that the Speaker they had proposed had been rejected by the King; saying he was the cause of it, because, truly, the Gentleman was not his Lordship's Friend. This Dispute subsisting between the King and the Commons, they at length Address him, Beseeching him not to invade their undoubted Privilege of chusing their Speaker; but His Majesty still insists on it, That without his Approbation, their Choice is of none Effect. Now all the Moderate Men in the House were concerned That such Punctilio's should stand in the Way of Business, especially when Business of such High Importance lay before them; but the Angry Party was deaf to all Remonstrance; and the King, by way of Expedient, prorogued the Parliament to the 11th Instant, and from thence to the 15th, when Serjeant *Gregory* being elected, both sides were satisfied.

The Storm now begins to fall heavy upon the Lord Treasurer, insomuch that he has Thoughts of delivering up his Staff, and with it his Office, in hopes by such Resignation to allay the Heats against him. I was averse to this step, I confess, and would have had him stood his ground, as long as the King would stand by him, saying, his Resignation would but expose him the more to the Power of his Enemies; in short, that the Lords would fear him the less, and the Commons not love him a bit the better. Several Persons had got possessed of good Employments, not so much by my Lord's Favour and Kindness, as by giving Money to his Lady, who had for some time driven on a private Trade of this sort, tho' not without his Lordships participation and concurrence. This I knew, but had neither the Face nor the Inclination to come in at that Door; so that I was postponed

1672. poned to many, who, as I thought, deserved as little as my self; but they had but a bad Bargain, they were now all swept away with the same Torrent that began to overwhelm his Lordship; against whom fresh Matter now appeared, upon the Evidence of *Bedloe*, before the Committee appointed to examine into the Plot, he accusing the Treasurer of having tampered with him to fly during this Interval of Parliament. And now every thing went harder and harder with his Lordship's Friends; so that my Election being controverted, the Committee of Privileges and Elections, in a few Days afterward, gave my Cause against me by a small Majority of two only; which considering the Stream of the Times, I reckoned to be as good as half a Victory at least.

March 17. 20. In the mean time a Message was sent to the Lords, desiring the Treasurer might be committed; but their Lordships had but just before Voted him Eight Days to prepare his Defence in. 22. The Commons repeated their former Message to the Lords; 23. and the next Day the King coming to the House of Lords, in the usual State and Formality, informed both Houses, That it was by his particular Order the Lord Treasurer had written the Two Letters, produced by *Montague*: That it was not the Lord Treasurer who had concealed the Plot, but that it was himself who told it his Lordship from time to time, as he thought fit. His Majesty then declared he had granted the said Nobleman a full Pardon, and that, if Occasion required, he would give it him again Ten times over: That, however, he intended to lay him aside from his Employments, and to forbid him the Court.

Some would have persuaded his Lordship to take Refuge abroad, as what would appease both Houses: And indeed the Lords had a Conference with the Commons about preparing a Bill to banish him, and the Commons desired some Days to consider of it, in hopes he would have withdrawn in that time. In 24. the midst of this Perplexity I saw his Lordship at Midnight, as he came out of his Closet, from advising with his Friends what to do. He gave me a great many Thanks and good Words; told

told me he had recommended me to the King as a fit Person to be sent his Envoy into *France*; as also where I was to make Application in his Absence, if I wanted any thing with the King. 1678.

The next Day the Commons, in a great Heat, refused to comply with the Lords, in their Bill of Banishment; they said it was too slight a Punishment, and sent to demand Justice of their Lordships against the Treasurer, declaring, He ought not only to be punished in his own Person, but in his Posterity likewise, as an Example of Terror to those, who for the future should succeed him in his Office: But before this Message came, the Lords had changed their Minds, and sent the Black Rod for the Treasurer; too late tho'; he was gone, and now it was surmised the King was grown cool towards him. 1679. March 25.

A most unhappy thing it is to serve a fickle Prince, which, it must be owned, was Part of our Master's Character. Had the Treasurer considered no Body but himself, he might certainly have fared better; but he resolved rather to suffer, than to do any thing that might derive any Dishonour on the King, or others about him, as he has since said himself. This great Change, I must own, made me seriously ponder the incertitude of human Grandeur: It was but a few Months before that few things were transacted at Court, but with the Privy or Consent of this great Man; the King's Brother, and favourite Mistress, were glad to be fair with him, and the general Address of all Men of Business was to him, who was not only Treasurer, but Prime Minister also; who not only kept the Purse, but was the first and greatest Confident in all Affairs of State. But now he is neglected of all, forced to hide his Head as a Criminal, and in danger of losing all he has got, and his Life therewith: His Family raised from Privacy to the Degree of Marquis, (a Patent was then actually passing, to invest him with that Dignity) is now on the Brink of falling below the humble stand of a Yeoman; nor would almost the meanest Subject change Conditions with him now, whom so very lately the greatest beheld with Envy. This confirmed me in a Belief, that a Middle State is always the best;

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not

1679. not so lowly as to be trodden on, nor so lofty as to fear the Blasts of Envy. A Man should not be so wanting in point of Industry, as not to endeavour to distinguish himself in some sort from the Bulk of those of his Rank; nor yet so ambitious as to sacrifice the Ease of this Life, and of that to come, by mounting, over the Heads of others, to a Greatness of uncertain Duration. But to

March 25. digress no farther,

I wrote to his Royal Highness, to acquaint him with the Posture of Affairs here at present. The Two Houses of Parliament continued in Division, as to what should be inflicted on the fallen Treasurer; the Lords adhering to their Bill to banish him, and the Commons to their Bill of Attainder, till at last it came to a free Conference between them. This Business, and the Plot, engrossed the Attention of the Houses for a long time; during which it was thought the Lord *Danby* lay concealed at *Whitehall*.

The King seemed not at all concerned at thus parting with his Brother, and his Treasurer; nor in any Degree solicitous about the Use the Parliament would make thereof; tho' it was suspected they would get their own Friends into Power, and obtain a snip of the Prerogative, in Consideration of the Money they gave to his Majesty.

April 17. My Lord *Danby* at length surrendering himself, was committed Prisoner to the Tower, where going to pay him a Visit, he seemed to be very little concerned.

19. The Privy Council of Fifty Lords, was now dismissed, and a new one called, consisting of Thirty of those Lords and Commoners, who had, in both Houses, been most active against the late Court Measures; of these were Lord *Russel*, Lord *Hallifax*, Lord *Cavendish* and others. The Admiralty was put into Commission, and so was the Treasury. The Duke of *Monmouth* was supposed to be at the Bottom of all this; it is certain it was now that he began to set up for himself.

25. My Lord *Danby* returned Answer to his Impeachment, to the Upper House, pleading the King's Pardon. This was sent down to the Commons, who referred it to a Committee; and the Result

sult was, That His Majesty had no Power to grant Pardon in this Case: The same Day both Houses began to cast Reflections on the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth*. 1679.

The Commons, pursuant to their Resolution the Day before, April 27. sat this Day, being *Sunday*, to consider of the means for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person; and Voted, That the best way would be to prevent the Succession from falling into the Hands of a Papist, and that the Duke of *York* being such, was the Reason of the late Conspiracy against the King's Person and Government, and the Religion as by Law established.

My Lord Viscount *Hallifax* being now of the Council, and entering into Business, he, tho' a great Enemy to the Earl of *Danby*, professed a Kindness for me; but here I must observe, that most of the other Lords and Gentlemen of the Privy Council, tho' great Patriots before, in the Esteem of both Houses, began, in some Measure, to lose their Credit with both, so true is it, That there is no wearing the Court and Country Livery together.

The Lords in the Tower moved, that Council might be assigned them, in vain; and a Day was appointed to consider of that part of his Majesty's Speech, where he said he was willing to concur with his Parliament, in passing a Bill to limit a Popish Successor, so that he should not be able to alter the Government and Religion as now by Law established, tho' he would not suffer the Succession itself to be touched: Against this Day, a Committee was appointed to examine into *Coleman's* Letters, and to make Report to the House of whatever therein related to the Duke of *York*. They reported that by the said Letters they had discovered, That his Highness had written thrice to the Pope; that his first Letter miscarried; that the second gave his Holiness such an excess of Joy, that the old Gentleman could not refrain from Tears; and that the third was to excuse the consent he gave to have his Daughter married to the Prince of *Orange*, and to acquaint him, that the run of the Times had obliged him to such involuntary Compliance. Upon this and some further intimation May 11.

1671. of the same Nature, a Debate arose, whether a Bill should be drawn up in the way his Majesty had suggested, or whether they should immediately proceed to a total Exclusion. The Friends for the Limitation argued, that we might be as safely secured the one way as the other; that a small Revenue might be settled upon a Popish Successor while he continued in that Persuasion; that the Militia might be taken out of his Hands; and that a Parliament might be impowered to assemble, whenever the present King should die, and to sit for six Weeks, in order to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, to appoint Protestant Officers, Military and Civil, and to make Choice of Bishops, which the Successor, if a Papist, should have no Power to nominate.

To this it was objected, that such a Project of Procedure were altering the very Frame and Constitution of our Government and Monarchy, and directly to reduce it to a Republic; that it would be quite ineffectual; that the King, by the fundamental Laws of the Land, was Head and Supreme of the three Estates; that a Parliament so convened as above, could enact nothing valid without him; that while he enjoyed the Title of King, he would exercise a Power adequate to his Office; and that therefore the means proposed were delusory and unsafe, in comparison of an utter Exclusion. It was replied, that this Expedient was by far more to be avoided than the former; that it was depriving the Duke of his Birthright; that if his Highness survived, he had as clear a Claim to succeed the King, if he died Childless, as any Man whatever had to succeed to his Father's Possessions; that probably a Prince of his Spirit would not easily submit to be so disinherited; that such a Disturbance of the Succession had never, in this Kingdom, been of any lasting Effect; that Right had always prevailed at last; that Civil Wars, upon the like Occasions had been disastrous to *England*; that Success would reverse all Attainder; and that should his Highness force his way to the Crown, the overthrow of Religion and the Government were more, much more, to be feared, than by his peaceful Accession.

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The next Day I acquainted the King with my Fate in the Committee, he said, "He was very sorry for it, but that they ^{1679.}
" should not stay long behind me, if they did not use himself and ^{May 12.}
" his Brother better than they did "; and promised to continue me in my Command of *Burlington*, with a Salary of Two Hundred Pounds, till a Company should become vacant, which I should have in lieu of mine now to be disbanded with the rest of the Army.

The King sent a Message to the Commons, advising them to think of raising Money for the Equipment of a Fleet, and for a fresh Provision of Naval Stores, very much wanted in all the Yards in *England*. This Message being taken into Consideration, the House insisted on a Change of the Succession, and a proper Security for Religion, and a Removal of all Officers they disliked the Kingdom over. Such was the Tenor of the Debate, but no Vote passed, except to adjourn the farther Consideration of this Matter for Eight Days. ^{14.}

Now the Lords who were in the Tower for the Plot, and my Lord *Danby*, being shortly to take their Tryals, an arduous Question arose in the House of Lords concerning the Bishops, Whether or no they ought to be present in Cases of Blood. Whereupon the Commons, thinking these Spiritual Lords would be of too favourable an Inclination, took the Consideration of the same into their House, and came to an Opinion, *They ought not to be present*. This was resented by the Lords, as if the Commons interfered with a Branch of their Judicature; in short, the Dispute grew to be of great Warmth.

Mean while the Kingdom in general had a very melancholy Aspect; the King was poor; the Officers of the Crown and of the Household were clamorous for their Salaries and Dues, which had not of a long time been paid, and no wonder, when Sir *Robert Howard*, one of the chief Officers of the Exchequer, declared in the House of Commons, that there was not Money sufficient for Bread for the King's Family; there were no Stores any where, either for the Sea Service or the Land; the Garrisons
were

1679.

were all out of Repair, the Platforms decayed, and the Cannon dismounted; the Army divided, for the Duke of *York* and against him, the Officers of State the same; the Parliament for the most part in a ferment, and glad of these public Misunderstandings, as favoring their Desire of clipping the Wings of the Prerogative, reducing the height of Monarchy, and furthering their private Designs; the King also and his Brother at variance, and so kept by those who promised to make his Majesty quite easy, if he would but comply with them so far as to disinherit the Duke; so that he was quite in Suspence as to what Resolution he should or should not take.

The Duke of *Monmouth* who was certainly very much in the King's Affections, was evidently in Councils against his Uncle of *York*; for all his Creatures in the House voted against his Highness, nor were any Men higher in his estimation, than the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Essex*, and other Chiefs of the Cabal. The truth is, tho' the Duke of *Monmouth* was quite finished as to his exterior, his inside was by no means of a Piece therewith; so that he was easily beguiled by *Shaftsbury* into the flattering Notion of being, the Duke disinherited, the next Heir to the Crown, either by the King's declaring Marriage with his Mother, or by being made Legitimate by Act of Parliament. And indeed tho', at the Instances of the Duke of *York*, the King had openly in Council declared, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was but his Natural Son, and that he never was married to his Mother; there were numbers ready to assert his Right, and who pretended that sufficient Witness was to be produced of such as were actually at the Wedding, and that a Record of the same was kept in a black Box, in custody of some of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Friends; but to dismiss this,

May 21.

The Lords voted, That the Bishops might be present at the Tryal of the Lords; and the Commons committed the Bill of Exclusion, upon a previous Question put, the Ay's being 240, the No's 128.

Two Days afterwards, I was at the King's Couchée, and wondered to see him quite chearful, amidst such an intricacy of Troubles; but it was not his Nature to think or perplex himself much about any thing. I had the good Fortune to say something that pleased his Majesty, and the Duke of *Newcastle*, one of the Bed-chamber, being in waiting, his Grace took the Opportunity of saying some kind things of me, whereupon his Majesty came to me, and reassured me of a continuance in my Command, and told me, he would stick by his old Friends.

1679.
May 23.

But the Lords persisting in their Opinion, That their Spiritual Members might be present at the Trial of the Prisoners, and particularly of the Earl of *Danby's*, as to the Validity of his Pardon, which was his Plea; and on the other Hand, the Commons voting that the said Lords should not be present, and resolving only to proceed against that Earl, and not the rest of the Prisoners, tho' the time appointed for the Trial of them all was come; extraordinary Heats arose between the Two Houses, insomuch that his Majesty came and told them, That not perceiving which way they were to be reconciled, he prorogued them till the 14th of *August*. The City of *London*, where the Anticourt Party was very strong, took so great Offence at this, and were so angry, that it was thought they would have risen; but all, with much ado, was hushed and kept quiet.

29.

And now came News of an Insurrection in *Scotland*, to the Number of 7000 Men, that they had burnt several Acts of Parliament, as the Act of Uniformity and Episcopacy, as also the Act which abolished and condemned the Covenant. That they had set forth a Declaration for *Jesus Christ*, the Kirk, and the Covenant; in short, some Troops that were ordered out against them having been defeated, the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent Post haste into *Scotland* to stop the Progress of this Infant Rebellion.

June 12.

The King told me he had an Account that the Two Armies were but Ten Miles distant from each other, that his consisted not of above 1200, and that the Rebels were above 6000 strong; but notwithstanding this great Odds, news came the next Day that

22.

1679. that the latter after, a very poor Resistance, had been utterly routed and dispersed.

July 9. Being soon after in the Country, and understanding the Duke of *Monmouth* was to be at *Doncaster*, post out of *Scotland*; I went to meet him, and sent half a Buck, and some extraordinary sorts of Wine to entertain him there. He came not till Midnight, and raised me out of the Bed design'd for him, his delay tempting me to think he would hardly be in that Night. Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was with him, and told me the King had heard some falsehoods concerning the Duke, and had, in all haste, sent for him out of *Scotland*. And indeed it hapned to be understood, That after his Victory he was about laying a Foundation whereon to succeed in that Kingdom, and by the Industry of his Agents making himself popular.

The Duke of *York*, who had been sometime abroad, suddenly appeared again in *England*, to see the King, who, as was pretended, had not been well. The Duke of *Monmouth*, who thought he had the King to himself, knew nothing of it, till his Highness actually arrived at *Windsor*; nor were there above four Persons who knew any thing at all of the matter, so close and reserved could the King be, when he conceived it to be necessary. This Revocation of the Duke was principally owing to the intervention of Lord *Feverham*, who afterwards told me the whole Story. And now it was thought that the Parliament, being chiefly made up of Exclusionists, would be but very short-lived. The Duke however went back again, but it was only to fetch his
 October. Dutchess, whom he had left behind him, returning presently, with his whole Court from *Flanders*, and desiring of the King, That if he must needs be absent, he might rather remain in
 20. some part of his Majesty's Dominions, and so he was sent into *Scotland*. His Highness then proceeded Northward; but Lord *Shaftsbury* being soon after removed, the Exclusionists began to
 November. despair of Success; nor was that all; for the Duke of *Monmouth* having been sent into *Flanders*, and returning without the King's Leave, drew such Displeasure on him, that he was divested

vested of all his Employments. Soon after, I heard the Duke had been sent for, from *Scotland*, by the King; that the two Brothers met very affectionately, and that the King particularly should say, *No Body should ever part them for the future*; and with this we conclude this Year. 1679.

I went to *London* to solicit some Business at Court, but the Application of all Men being to the Duke, who quite engrossed the King to himself, his Highness had but little leisure to give Ear to, or assist his Friends, for as such he seemed to look on me when I attended him at *York*, the last Year, as he went down to *Scotland*; and, indeed, there was small hopes of succeeding in Money Requests, as mine was, the King every Day retrenching rather than increasing his Expences, that so he might stand the less in need of his Parliament, which he despaired of finding in any good Humour. 1680. April.

There were, at this time, great Meetings of Persons dissatisfied with the Court, where Consultations were held to distress the King upon all Occasions, whether in Parliament, or out of it, and these resorts were called *Cabals*. The Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lords *Russel*, *Cavendish* and others, where the chiefs of these Assemblies, which, for the greater Privacy, shifted every Night from House to House; the public Outcry pretending fears of Popery, and the safety of the King.

The King and the Duke being at *Windsor*, came to Town but once a Week, to be present at Council; and finding the Friends I had with the King were but of little service to me, I went my self to *Windsor*, and acquainted the Duke with a Design, in agitation with some People, to prove the King's Marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, and informed him how he might obviate it; for which he thanked me, and told me, without my asking it, that he had been mindful of my Business. The King shewed me a great deal of what he had done to the House, which was indeed very fine, and acquainted me with what he intended to do more; for then it was he was upon finishing that most Majestic Structure. He lived quite privately at this time; there was little or 21. May 8.

1680. no resort to him, and his Days he passed in fishing, or walking in the Park ; and certain it is, he was much better pleased with Retirement, than the Hurry of the gay and busy World.

May 17. I returned to *Windfor* a few Days afterwards, and had all Assurances, from the Duke, of constant Services with the King, in what I solicited, which was to go abroad in quality of Envoy Extraordinary ; and at the same time taking my Leave of his Majesty, he laid his Hand upon my Shoulder, and said, " He was very sensible of my Services, and that they should be rewarded." I took this Opportunity to put him in mind of his Promise to send me abroad, and mentioned a Nobleman who was present when he made it ; and he said, " He remembered it particularly well, " and that, upon the very first Occasion, he would be as good as " his Word."

Oct. 14, 16. It was now again rumoured about, That the Duke of *York* was to depart before the Meeting of the Parliament ; some said in Obedience to the King's Orders ; others, to avoid the Violence of both Houses : For plain and most evident it was, that the Papists lifted up their Crest with great arrogance, presuming on support from the Duke, who now reigned absolute in all the King's Affairs. In short, the Duke and Duchess sat out once more for 21. *Scotland* ; and the next Day the Parliament meeting, the King 22. in his Speech declared, " They were free to do whatever they " would for the Security of the Protestant Religion, provided, " they did not offer to divert the direct Line of the Succession."

But still the Commons went on, this Month and the next, to frame a Bill to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Succession, and the Gentlemen and others of *Yorkshire*, who had counterpetitioned, and declared their Abhorrence of the tumultuous Petition for a meeting of Parliament, were voted Betrayers of the Liberties of the People, and Abettors of Arbitrary Power. A Committee was also appointed to inquire into the Matter, and after the Persons concerned therein ; and two Members of the House, both of *Yorkshire*, who had set their Hands to the Abhorrence, were convened before them ; but I, who was the Penman

man of that Instrument, had done it so cautiously, that no hold 1680.
could be fastened, no exceptions taken, and so they got off.

The Parliament pursued the Duke with such Violence, and November.
the King was so thoroughly distressed for Money, that some now
began to be of Opinion, his Majesty would abandon his Brother.
Attending, about this time, at the King's Supper, I told him that
I was threatned, by some of the House of Commons, to be called
to an Account for Penning the Abhorrence, and signing it with
the rest of the *Yorkshire* Gentlemen: To which his Maje-
sty made Answer, "Do not trouble yourself; I will stick by
" you and my old Friends; for if I do not, I shall have no Bo-
" dy to stick by me." But yet, it was, by a great many, feared
he was not quite resolved as to this Profession; for Money was
so exceedingly wanting, and the offers of the Parliament so very
fair, if he would but give up his Brother, that no Body was
safe. What added to the Suspicion was, that many who were
well in the King's Esteem, appeared for the Bill of Exclusion:
Nor was it unknown that the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* was well
inclined to it; whether artfully to insinuate herself into the good
Graces of the Party, who had been at greatest Enmity with her,
or in Compliance with the *French*, whose Tool she was, who
were ready to catch at any thing to embroil us at Home, is un-
certain.

A few Days afterwards, I hapned to be at the Dutchess of
Portsmouth's, where the King was quite unreserved, and very open
as to the Witnesses who were making out the Popish Plot, and
proved to a Demonstration, that many Articles they had given in
Evidence, were not only improbable, but quite impossible.

This was one of the greatest Days ever known in the
House of Lords, with regard to the Importance of the Business
they had in Hand, which concerned no less than the Lineal Suc-
cession to the Crown, the Bill having passed the Commons, who
sent it up to the Lords. Great was the Debate, and great were
the Speakers; the chief of those for the Bill the Earl of *Shafts-*
bury; the chief of those against it, Lord *Hallifax*. It was mat-
ter

1680. ter of surprise, that the latter should appear at the Head of an Opposition to the former, when they were wont always to draw together ; but the Business in agitation was against the Lord *Hallifax's* Judgment, and therefore he opposed it with Vigor ; and being a Man of the clearest Head, finest Wit, and fairest Eloquence, he made so powerful a Defence, that he alone, so all confessed, influenced the House, and persuaded them to throw out the Bill.

The King was so highly pleased with the Transactions of this Day, that he, soon after, took this great Lord into Business ; but, on the other Hand, the Commons were so angry with him, that though they could regularly take no Notice of what any Man said in the other House, they voted an Address to the King to lay him aside, and remove him from his Councils and Presence. To this he answered, " That if Lord *Hallifax* had done any " thing contrary to Law, he was willing he should be prosecuted " and punished accordingly ; but that not being satisfied he had " done any thing amiss, he could not part with him," or Words to that Effect. One would have thought that so signal a Piece of Service, Lord *Hallifax* did to his Highness, had been of a Degree and Nature never to be forgot : But when the Duke afterwards came to be King, he, from the Privy Seal, where he found him, removed him to the Presidency of the Council, purely to make Room for another, and in the end quite laid him aside.

Nov. 22.

I was, soon after, a long while in Discourse with his Majesty, and, among other things, told him, I doubted whether I should be inserted in the List, the Lords had voted to be given in to them, of the Military Officers, there being neither Company nor Gunner at *Burlington*, where I was Governor, to make it appear a Garrison ; and that if I was, I presumed I should be of the Number of those they intended to petition his Majesty to lay aside : To this the King answered, " Let them do what they will, " I will never part with any Officer at the Request of either " House ; my Father lost his Head by such Compliance ; but as " for me, I intend to dye another way."

Lord

Lord *Hallifax*, as we have observed above, having defeated the Bill of Exclusion, in the House of Lords, was beheld as the rising Man, and premier Favourite. I waited on him, and the next Day he took me in his Coach with him to *White-hall*, and invited me to dine with him in private; in our Conversation together, he told me it was to be feared some unhappy Differences might distract the Nation from these Uneasinesses about the Succession: And that in case things should unhappily ripen to a War, it might be proper to form something of a Party in ones own Thoughts. He said he knew there was but another and my self that had any considerable Influence in my Neighbourhood; in consequence of which and some further Conversation this way, I, the next Day, carried him the Names and Character of all the considerable Men in those Parts. And upon the whole, we agreed that the Loyalists were not only the most numerous, but also the most active and wealthy; and that those who, in Parliament, were against the Court, were Men of little Account or Estimation in their own Country.

But to turn our Eyes upon what justly claimed the Attention of all Men, now came on the Trial of Lord *Stafford* by his Peers. *Westminster-hall* was the Place, and I think it was the deepest Solemnity I ever saw. Great were the Expectations of the Issue of this Event, it being doubtful whether there were more who believed there was any Plot by the Papists in reality against the King's Life, than not. He was impeached by the Commons, and being deemed to be weaker than the other Lords in the Tower, for the same Crime, and less able to labour his Defence, was purposely marked out to be the first brought on; but he deceived them so far as to plead his Cause to a Miracle. The three chief Evidences against him, were Dr. *Oates*, *Dugdale*, and *Turberville*: The first swore he had brought him a Commission signed by the Pope, to be Paymaster of the Army to be raised against the King; the second, That his Lordship offered him Five Hundred Pounds to kill the King; and the third, That he had offered him a Reward for the same dreadful deed, but at a different

1680.

different time. And so positive seemingly were they in this and other dangerous Evidence, that I, who sat and heard most of the Tryal, had not known what to think, had the Witnesses been but Men of any the least Credit; but indeed such were the Incoherences, and indeed Contradictions which seemed to me to arise towards the latter End, that considering them, and the very evil Name of the People that swore against this Lord, I was fully satisfied that all was untruth they laid to his Charge: But the poor Gentleman was condemned by a Majority of 22. He heard his Accusers, and defended himself with great Steadiness and Resolution, and received his Sentence with great Courage and Composure; nor did he stoop beneath the Weight of his Doom, till he submitted his Head to the Block, with his last Breath protesting his Innocence, and the cruel Wrong he suffered. My Lord *Hallifax* was one that gave his Voice for him; and the King who heard all his Tryal, was extremely concerned at the rigour and abruptness of his Fate.

Nov. 24.

Being at my Lord *Hallifax*'s, I discovered, what was then generally unknown, that his Lordship sat up for first Minister; for I saw the *French* Ambassador come privately to him upon Business. This same Day the Commons were asked, What they would do for the King after so long a sitting to no effect, as to the Matters his Majesty required of them? They voted this Answer, That they would put him into a Condition to defend *Tangiers*; pay off all his Debts; put the Fleet into a good Condition, and enable him to assist his Allies; provided he would relinquish the Duke his Brother; pass an Act for the more frequent Meeting of Parliament, and change such Officers about him as the House should point out. There were many who believed the King would be tempted to comply; but, the very next Day, seeing my Lord *Hallifax*, he assured me there was not the least probability that he would; for *That it was like offering a Man Money to cut off his Nose.*

The same Day, the unfortunate Lord *Stafford* came to the House of Lords, and was admitted, under a Notion That he had

had some Discovery, or Confession to make, concerning the Popish Plot; but instead of that, he only protested his own Innocence, and accused Lord *Shaftsbury* of a Correspondence with the Papists, and of sending him to the Duke of *York*, to desire him to use his Interest with the King to dissolve the Long Parliament, as the best thing that could be done to favour the Popish Interest; and so he was remanded back again. 1680.

I was at the King's Couchée, when there were but Four present: His Majesty was in a very good Humour, and took up some time in displaying to us the Fallacy and Emptiness of those who pretended to a fuller Measure of Sanctity than their Neighbours, and pronounced them to be, for the most part, abominable Hypocrites, and the most arrant Knaves; as Instances of which he mentioned several eminent Men of our own Times, nor spared to introduce some Mitred Heads among the rest, whom he pretended to be none of the best, tho' their devout exterior gave them the Character of Saints with the Croud. However, there were of the Men, so pointed out, some whom the King had no reason to love upon a political Account, which may be pleaded in Abatement of the Acrimony of his Censure. He was that Night Two full Hours in putting off his Cloaths, and it was half an Hour past One before he went to Bed. He seemed to be quite free from Care and Trouble, tho' one would have thought, at this time, he should have been overwhelmed therewith; for every Body now imagined he must either dismiss the Parliament in a few Days, or deliver himself up to their most pressing Desires; but the straits he was in seemed no ways to embarrass him, as I just now observed. Nov. 24.

I dined with that excellent Man Dr. *Gunning*, Bishop of *Ely*: The famous Dr. *Oates* was of the Company at Table, and flushed with the Thoughts of running down the Duke of *York*, expressed himself of his Highness and his Family, in Terms that bespoke him a Fool and something worse; nor contented with this, but he must rail at the Queen, his Mother, and her present Majesty. In this strain did he hurry on, while no Soul dared to oppose 26.

1680.

pose him, for fear of being made a Party of the Plot; till, no longer able to bear with the Insolence of the Man, I took him to task to such purpose, that he flung out of the Room with some Heat. The Bishop told me that such was the general Drift of his Discourse, and that he had sometimes checked him for the indecency of his Talk, but that finding he had done it to no manner of purpose, he had desisted from any further Effort to set Bounds to his Virulence.

Nov. 29.

In the mean time, Lord *Stafford* was led to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he persisted in the firmest Denial of what was laid to his Charge, and that in so cogent, convincing, and persuasive a Manner, that all the Beholders believed his Words, and grieved his Destiny. The same Day, I dined with my Lord *Hallifax*, who said to me, *Well, if it comes to a War, you and I must go together.* I told his Lordship, I should be ready to follow him, happen what would; but that if the King expected his Friends to be hearty in his Cause, and steady to his Person, he should consider with himself, and encourage them a little; and thereupon acquainted him with some of my Disappointments at Court, notwithstanding the most solemnly reiterated Promises; and added, that I should be glad his Majesty would send me his Envoy to some Part of the World or other. But to return to things of more public and general Concern;

Jan. 4.

The King sent down an Answer to the House of Commons, signifying, That he still persisted in his Resolution, not to disturb the immediate Succession to the Crown; which had so unhappy an Effect, as to cause the passing of some very violent Votes against such as were understood to be the King's chief Advisers in this Matter, namely, the Earls of *Hallifax*, *Clarendon*, *Feverham*, the Marquis of *Worcester*, and Mr. *Hyde*, since Lord *Rockester*. Upon this the Parliament was prorogued from the 10th to the 20th of *January*; some thought in order for a Dissolution, while others persisted, That the King would suffer them to sit at that Time, and pass the Bill. Waiting this Day on Lord *Hallifax*, he complained much of the Severity of the Commons in their
Vote,

10.

Vote, *That he was a Promoter of Popery, and a Betrayer of the People*, which, said he, were a Man ever so Innocent, yet coming from the Representative Body of the People, is too heavy for the Shoulders of any one single Person; that he had therefore some thoughts of retiring from Court; but that, however, he would go his own pace, and not be kicked out at their Pleasure. That if for the future the King should have occasion for him, in any thing that was just, he should be ready to serve him: That if I would repose a Confidence in him, he would let me know when it was time to appear for the King's Service, and that I should share Fortunes with him, and so on. But, at the same time, he complained of the Fickleness and Incertitude of the King's Temper; and observed, that while he seemed perfectly to approve of the Council you gave him, he hearkned to others from a back Door, which made him wavering of Mind, and slow to resolve. The next Day I waited on Lord *Danby* in the Tower, and he spoke, of the King's unsteadiness, in the very self same strain; and particularly observed, That tho' the Duke of *York* had but little Influence with him, as to what purely regarded himself, the Minister would find him an overmatch with his Majesty, as to any other Person or Concern. The same Day the Duke of *Newcastle* told me he was to wait on the King the next, and that he fancied he would offer him some Employment, but that as his Majesty had not done it in better times, he would excuse himself now that they were so dangerous; which recalled to my Mind what Lord *Hallifax* had observed a few Days before, That the King's Uncertainty and Silence, as to what he proposed to himself, made Men afraid to serve him.

In the midst of this, the City of *London* petitions the King, *Jan. 13.* by their Common Council, for the sitting of the Parliament, at the time appointed: To which the King made answer, *It was none of their Business*: And it was the Discourse, that the Parliament would be dissolved, and a new one called to sit at *Oxford*. My Lord *Hallifax* seemed averse to this Dissolution, but he only seemed so; he could, certainly, have no very cordial

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Wishes

1680. Wishes towards those, who had dealt so severely, as he thought, with him. My Lord was now jealous, That the Earl of *Danby* would be taken out of the Tower, and received again into Councils; which if it hapned, his Resolution was to retire, and his advice to me was, not to press for Employment, till things were established upon a more solid Foundation.

Jan. 21. In a few Days afterwards, his Lordship told me his Thoughts were absolutely to retire, not that he was at all dissatisfied with the King, but that he was afraid the Duke's superior Prevalency with him, might peradventure carry things too far. In short, every thing now, and for some time to come, was in the most unsettled, dark, and most perplexing Suspence, so that a Man scarce knew what to think, or how to behave.

March 22. At length a new Parliament was called to sit at *Oxford*, whither, being elected a Member, I repaired, and waited on the King, who received me very kindly. I told him, I had it in charge from several Gentlemen of our County, to acquaint him, They had no part in the Petition offered to the Knights of their Shire, to prosecute the Bill of Exclusion against his Highness; and that the thing had been managed but by six or seven factious Persons, tho' it had been industriously reported to be a more general Concern. His Majesty said, He had already received some short Account to the same purpose, and ordered me to return his Thanks to those who did not busy themselves therein.

23. The Parliament now met. The Court was at *Christchurch*; and the Commons sat in the Schools, but were very much straitned for Room, there being a very great Concourse of Members. His Majesty's Speech to both Houses was very gracious, and calculated to reconcile all Differences, and to disperse all Jealousies as to Religion, &c. but was still averse to, what former Parliaments had so pushed at, the Exclusion of his Brother from the Name and Power of King. And yet the first Point debated was, Whether or no, notwithstanding the King's Speech, a Bill of Exclusion should not be framed and brought in? But for the present it was only voted, That the Security of his Majesty's

Majesty's Person, and of the Protestant Religion should be taken into consideration the 26th Instant. 1680.

Not to insist on the Impeachment of *Fitz-harris*, which was done not to destroy, but to serve him in Opposition to the Court; the grand Argument for the Bill of Exclusion was, That nothing could preserve us from Popery but that alone. Now the whole House was of Opinion, that Popery was to be kept out, the Dispute was only as to the means of effecting it. The King had, in his Speech, offered to agree to any thing that might serve to quiet the Minds of the People as to that particular, the utter Exclusion of his Brother only excepted. It was therefore moved by Sir *Thomas Littleton*, That a Bill, to secure the Protestant Religion, should be brought in, and consist of the following Heads: That the Duke of *York* should enjoy the Title, and the Princess of *Orange* exercise the Power: That if a Parliament should be in being, when it should please God to take away the present King, they should have Power to sit: That the Judges, and all other Officers of the Crown, should be continued, till Liberty and Property were secured: That if there was no Parliament subsisting, one should assemble of course: And that to prevent the Duke's interfering to prevent this, he should, by the same Act, be banished to the Distance of 500 Miles from *England*, not to return as long as the King lived. To this it was objected, That the Name and Power of King were inseparable by the Laws of *England*; that the Father would soon find a way to divest the Daughter of her Power; that a Regency was never known but in Cases of Lunacy and Minority; and that the Duke was not of a turn of Disposition to be easily governed. But to this it was replied, That Regencies had been frequently allowed in other Cases, besides Incapacity and Lunacy, as formerly in *France*, and now in *Portugal*; that Princes were seldom so complaisant as to resign Kingdoms or Powers tho' to a Father; and that as for the Authority of Parliament in this Case, No question but the same Power that could alter the Government, could also modify it. But Exclusion was the Word: Some Seven or Eight dis-

1680.

gusted Lawyers, and able Speakers, joined by some others, who had been so active in this Matter, that they thought, should the Duke ever come to the Crown, he could never forgive them, wrought so prevalently upon the Members in general, that it was voted a Bill should be brought in, To incapacitate *James Duke of York*, from succeeding to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; nor during this Debate did some forbear to reflect on his Highness's Courage and Honour.

Mean while, the Lords refused to receive *Fitz-harris's* Impeachment; observing that he being already indicted at Common Law, and in a way of Trial by his Peers, as *Magna Charta* directed, they could not perceive how their House could take Notice of his Offence. The Commons hereupon grew angry with the Lords, and voted That such their Lordship's Proceeding was a Delay of Justice, a Breach of the Privilege of Parliament, and a Bar to the further Discovery of the Popish Plot: And that for any inferior Court to proceed therein, while an Impeachment was depending, was an High Breach of the Privilege of Parliament. The Heats grew, in short, to an Excess in both Houses, both as to this, and the Bill of Exclusion. The Commons, however, were of Opinion, That the King would give way to them, he having already made such Advances towards their Measures, and being in such thorough distress for Money, besides that many who were near the King, urged them to persist still in their Endeavors. But on the very Day the King had appointed the Theatre to be made ready for the Commons to sit in, they having complained of the straitness of the Schools; the Black Rod came, and commanded them to attend at the Bar of the House of Lords, where being come, the King, in his Robes, told them, That observing a great Difference to have taken place between the two Houses, which, if they sat any longer, might increase to a pernicious Degree, it was his Pleasure to dissolve that Parliament: A Blow so little foreseen, that there were those who thought there would have been some Stirs or Risings about it, in *London*.

1681.
March 28.

It

It was now observed, that many of the discontented Members, of both Houses, came Armed, and more than usually attended; and it was affirmed There was a Design to have seized the King, and to have restrained him till he had granted their Petitions. But if any such Design there was, it hapned that the Parties either wanted the Courage, or the Opportunity to put it in Execution; the King immediately departing with all speed for *London*. 1681.

His Majesty was so kind as to afford me several Opportunities of speaking to him, while I was at *Oxford*; and Lord *Hallifax* taking leave of him, and, in a particular manner, recommending me to his Thoughts, his Majesty laid both his Hands upon me, and thanked me for my Constancy to his Interest, and bad me be assured of his Affection.

By this abrupt Dissolution, and what I had heard from Lord *Hallifax* and others, I concluded the King was determined never to relinquish his Brother; as also to call no other Parliament for a long time yet to come. The Truth is, the Question now was not so much, Whether the Duke should succeed or not, as whether the Government should be Monarchical, or Republican? Some of the adverse side, had, in the House, blabbed out, That the Bill of Exclusion was not the only material Bill they intended to get passed this Session, in order to secure the People of *England* from falling a Prey to Popery, and arbitrary Power: That it was necessary the Military and Civil Power too should be lodged in other Hands, and that the present Officers of both should be called to an Account and changed: Whence the King being told, That if he quitted his Brother, it would be but an immediate Step taken to ruin all his Friends and Servants, and to become himself exposed to the Will and Wishes of those, whom he had no reason to think were over and above affected to him, dreaded the Consequences, and resolved accordingly; which shall conclude this troublesome Year.

I was at the King's Couchée, as I was three times in one Week; his Discourse ran generally upon the Impossibility of any thing April 20. 1681

1681.

thing like the Popish Plot, and the Contradictions of which it was made up : That he intended *Fitz-barris* should come upon his Trial immediately : That in all Affairs, relating to himself, the Laws should have their regular Course ; and that, whatever his own private Opinion might be, he would govern by them, and by them only : A Happiness indeed it was for his People, to live under so just and so gracious a Prince ! And now we begin to have a Prospect of Halcyon Days again ; for his Majesty having, since the last Parliament was dissolved, issued out a Declaration fraught with the fairest promises to his People, and assuring them of his firm Intentions to govern inviolably according to Law, and the like ; it had so happy an Effect, that he received the Thanks of the City of *London*, by the Lord Mayor, and of several Counties and Corporations in *England*.

May 4.

In the interim *Fitz-barris* is arraigned at the King's Bench Bar, where by his Council he refused to plead ; because he stood, in Parliament, impeached of the Crimes he there was to be indicted for ; tho' the Impeachment specified no particular Treasons, which the Indictment did. The Council for the King said, his Plea was Evasive, it not appearing whether the same Crimes were intended by the one, as by the other.

9.

This Point was argued at the Bar, but the Case being quite extraordinary, both in its own Nature, as well as because of the severe Vote of the Commons at *Oxford*, the Judges took time to consider of it, but two Days afterwards pronounced Judgment for the King ; and in the End, *Fitz-barris* received Sentence of Death, for his Treason, and was executed accordingly.

11.

My Lord *Shaftsbury*, and Lord *Howard*, were now sent Prisoners to the Tower ; and my Lord *Hallifax* told me, There would be enough produced against them to hang them both. A short time afterwards, I was, by my Lord *Hallifax*, presented to the King, in his Closet, to take my leave of him, being speedily to set out for *Yorkshire* : His Lordship, who was now become absolute Favorite, presented me to his Majesty, and spoke to him very kindly of me, and particularly desired him to confirm to me the

July 7.

the Promise he had sometime ago made to his Lordship, That I should succeed in the Government of *York*; his Majesty did it very adroitly, without the least Hesitation, and gave me his Hand to kiss upon the same; saying, He was convinced how well I deserved of him. 1681.

I returned again to *London*, and the next Day my Lord *Hallifax* told me, That Lord *Shaftsbury* had written to the King, that if he would be pleased to free him from his Confinement, he would engage to go to *Carolina*, never more to return into *England*; but that the King had rejected his Request, and determined to leave him to the Law. He also told me, That were it not for the Interest the King of *France* had here, he did not doubt but he should be able to put *England* into a very happy State and Condition in a very short time. That there was no hopes of doing any thing by way of Parliament, except his Majesty should make some new Attempt upon *Flanders*, and that such an Incident might be made use of as a Handle whereby to reconcile all Differences. O^r. 12.

Such an Opportunity offered itself soon after, that News came, the *French* King had taken *Strasburgh*; whereby becoming Master of the *Rhine*, he might intercept all Communication and Commerce between the *Low Countries* and *Germany*; so that the *Netherlands* would be absolutely obliged to bend the Knee to *France*, if we did not enter into a League with them against the common Adversary, which they did most earnestly solicit. But our King could lend them no helping Hand, without a Parliament to supply him with Money; and what Distress his Majesty laboured under as to that was sufficiently understood, particularly by *France*, who determined not to slip the Advantage; so that what my Lord *Hallifax* expected, from such an Occurrence, proved to be all Delusion.

This Evening his Majesty talked to me a great while, in St. *James's* Park, and at the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth's*; his Discourse ran chiefly upon the late unequal Verdicts and Proceedings of the Juries of *London* and *Middlesex*; concerning which he broke 20.

1681. broke out into this Expression, "It is a hard case that I am the
" last Man to have Law and Justice in the whole Nation.

Oct. 20. His Majesty went to see a new Ship launched at *Deptford*:
He went in his Barge, and I waiting on him to the Water-side,
he saw me, and called me in. The Gentleman who was appointed
to the Command of her, gave a great Dinner to the King,
where his Majesty commanded all the Gentlemen to sit down at
the same Table. He was more than usually serious that Day,
and seemingly under a greater weight of Thought, than had been
observed of him on account of the most important Business.

Nov. 4. I went to pay a Visit to Lord *Danby*, still a Prisoner in the
Tower; who, by the Drift of his Discourse, was not in Charity
with the then Ministers, seemingly reflecting on them as too fa-
vorablely inclined towards Lord *Shaftsbury*, and so on. Two Days
6. afterwards I acquainted my Lord *Hallifax* with this; to which
his Answer was, That People were mighty ready with their Judg-
ments and Decisions; but that if the Fact were even as suggested,
what could the King do better than set him at Liberty? That he
had as good be enlarged upon Terms, as by a Jury which would
most assuredly acquit him were he brought to a Tryal, tho' ever
so deep in Guilt; and that were he out, he could not do the
King so much harm, as such an Act of Mercy and Popularity
would do him good. The same Day, one of the Under Secreta-
ries told me, The King was resolved to prosecute him to the ut-
most, and that there was no want of very sufficient Matter a-
gainst him.

But before we come to the Issue of such his Majesty's Resolu-
tion, it may not be amiss to observe by the way, that my Lord
Hallifax, being by no means a Friend to *France*, was upon no
good footing with the Duchess of *Portsmouth*; which gave the
King some trouble, as it proved a Hindrance to the currency of
his Affairs; wherefore he sought to reconcile them, which he
did outwardly this Day; as for a thorough and hearty Reconcili-
10. ation, it was impossible, their Views being in such direct Op-
position to each other as they were.

And

And now pursuant to the King's Resolution that Lord *Shaftsbury* should take his Trial, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued out for that Purpose, and the most capital Articles of his Accusation having been committed in *London*, the Jury was there returned for the finding of the Bill; but tho' there were Eight Witnesses who peremptorily swore to the Bill, and tho' a Paper was produced, containing no less than matter of High Treason, which was sworn to have been found among the Papers in his Closet, by a Secretary of State, yet such were the Times, That the Grand Jury brought in their Verdict *Ignoramus*. 1681. Nov. 23.

In consequence of this he was enlarged; but because the Rabble in the City had lighted Bonfires on the Day the Jury acquitted him, the Justices of *London* and *Middlesex* had now strict Orders to prevent the like tumultuous doings. Now there were those who, considering how nearly Lord *Hallifax* was related to *Shaftsbury*, imagined his Lordship was not grieved that the latter was no longer a Prisoner; and indeed what made me, among others, bend a little this way, was That waiting on his Lordship a little early, I found one of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Gentlemen with him. But his Lordship denied it all very seriously to me, and said he would ere long convince the World of their Mistake. 28.

It being customary with the King, when he returned from his Walk before Dinner, to discourse the foreign Ministers, who usually attended to meet him in the Antichamber, he did it this Day on the Subject of the hard Measure dealt to him by Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Jury; and it fell to my Lot to explain several things in *French* relating to the matter in hand. A few Days afterwards his Majesty declared his Displeasure against the Duke of *Monmouth*, upon several Accounts, but especially for having offered to be Bail for *Shaftsbury*. The next Day he made the Duke of *Richmond* his Master of the Horse, and gave one of the Regiments of Foot Guards to the Duke of *Grafton*. And now the King to comply with the nature of the Times, for it was shrewdly suspected he was not in earnest, sent for the Justices of 29. Dec. 4. 7.

1682.

Middlesex to appear before him in Council, where he gave them a severe Reprimand, for that they were so remiss in their Inquiry after the Number of Papists, and so backward to prosecute them. He spoke not himself, but did it by the Lord Chancellor, and ordered them to be more vigilant, mindful, and active for the time to come.

The same Day, having been to visit the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, my Lord *Hallifax* took me home with him from *Whitehall*. On the way, I acquainted him that the general Report was, That his Lordship opposed the Duke of *York's* Interest with the King, and his Return from *Scotland*, which his Highness most urgently pressed. His Reply was, That it was well if the Duke's over-hastiness did not turn to his Disadvantage; that his Highness had a sort of hungry Servants about him, who were eternally pressing for his Return, nor would ever let him be at rest, till, with a view to their own Interest, they put their Master upon what might prove much to his Prejudice. And true it is that whilst his Highness was near the King's Person, every Body believed his Majesty to be principally swayed and actuated by his Advice; and consequently That Popish Councils were then uppermost; whereas he did a great deal of good in *Scotland*, by keeping a watchful Eye over that mutinous Kingdom. But the Papists, and others, his Highnesses Creatures, pretended he was kept in *Scotland* That his Enemies might the more easily work him out of his Brother's good Opinion; and that the Ministers might have the King all to themselves, and guide him according to their own Will and Pleasure. Upon this Lord *Hallifax* observed There was great Partiality in the Judgment of Men; for that in common Justice they ought to take as much Notice of Things that were managed for the Duke's Advantage, as of what seemed to be otherwise: That, for Instance, no Body had commended the Ministers for getting the Duke of *Richmond* to be Master of the Horse in prejudice to the Duke of *Monmouth*; tho' it must prove a great Obstacle to his Return to the King's Person, and tho' most evident it was That no greater Service could be done to

to

to his Highness, than to keep the Duke of *Monmouth* from Court. 1681.

About this time I had a View of going Envoy to *Denmark*, but to wave that, I this Day carried a Gentleman, one Mr. *Grant*, a Leader of the Fanatic Party, to wait on my Lord *Hallifax*. Jan. 4. He acquainted his Lordship with the double Dealings of some great Men at Court against him, who had been particularly instrumental in exasperating the Commons against him in the late Parliaments; which my Lord took as a piece of Service done, as it would put him upon his Guard against the same Men for the future. At the same time I conducted a Gentleman to my Lord, to ask his Pardon for some things he had been reported to have said against his Lordship. In good Policy, we ought to suffer no Man to be our Enemy, if we can possibly avoid it; but such was his Lordship's natural Disposition, that, in the whole course of my Life, I never knew a Man more ready, at all times, to forgive, and shall never forget his Expression upon this Occasion, *Sir, if you did not say the Words I am very glad of it, and even if you did, I am glad you find cause to be of another Mind.* In a private Conversation I, at the same time, had with his Lordship, he told me, That the People about the Duke of *York* made him mad; that there was scarce one of them that had a Grain of Sense; and intimated that a Parliament could not be far off.

The next Day I went to see Lord *Danby* in the Tower; he told me Lord *Sunderland* was ever railing at Lord *Hallifax*, tho' his Brother in Law; and observing him to express some satisfaction thereat, I presumed to remonstrate to him, That being a Friend to both, I could wish, now that he was a Prisoner, he would forget all occasion of animosity against a Gentleman in such high Power, as my Lord *Hallifax*; for that when a Parliament should be called, his Lordship might stand in need of his Assistance, and the good Offices of his Friends.

A few Days afterwards, the King gave Audience to an Ambassador from *Morocco*, who was admitted with more than ordinary Form, the King being of Opinion that a Commerce established 11. be-

1681. between that Empire and this Kingdom, might prove of considerable Profit to us, especially as we had so opportune a Place on that Continent as *Tangiers*. The Ambassador's Present to the King consisted of two Lyons, and thirty Ostriches, at which his Majesty laughed, and said, *He knew nothing more proper to send by way of Return than a Flock of Geese.*

Jan. 22. I hapned, this Day, to dine with Lord *Lumley*, at Lord *Feverham's*, when the former declared he had speedy Intentions of resigning his Post of Master of the Horse to the Queen, which he had hitherto enjoyed independantly of the Master of the Horse to the King. But it seems the Duchess of *Portsmouth* had prevailed with the King to alter his Patent, and to make him an Officer under the Duke of *Richmond*, contrary to his Promise. The Duchess was certainly sometimes to blame, in things of this Nature; for to display her Power with the King, which indeed was great, and to express her friendship to some, she would often persuade the King to break his Engagements with others, which was not for his Honour. And yet his Majesty was not, at this time, thought to be charmed with her Bed, it being generally believed he had not lain with her, since he was at *Newmarket*, at least four Months before. I also heard, this Day, that one of the three Ministers was endeavoring at a Reconciliation with a great Man who was no Friend to my Lord *Hallifax*; and immediately warning his Lordship thereof, he thanked me, and told me the Information would be of good use to him.

28. We had now Advice that infinite Damage had been done to *Ostend*, *Antwerp*, and the Circumadjacencies, by the most dreadful Inundation that had ever been known. That *Holland* had suffered most prodigiously by the Flood, that the greatest part of *Zealand* was under Water, and that several Towns and Villages had been swept away with all their Inhabitants, and that, according to Computation, it would require an Expence of Ten Millions Sterling to make good the Loss. The Levels also in *Yorkshire* and *Lincolnshire* were laid under Water by the same Fate; the incessant Rains of this Season having been the Cause thereof.

And

And now the great Point in expectation was, Whether there would be a Parliament called or not, the Ministers of State being divided as to the Thing. My Lord *Hallifax* argued, That all Christendom was desirous of it, *France* only excepted, and that nothing could be offered to discountenance it at Home, but the fear they might touch upon high Points, which if they did, his Majesty might dismiss or dissolve them, just as he pleased, and convince the World that it was their Fault and not his, and evince that he endeavoured to give his People satisfaction by the means of frequent Parliaments. That if the King and the Parliament agreed, his Majesty would thereby gain the grand Points of being united at Home, and formidable abroad. But some, as *Seymour* and *Hyde*, were against the Motion, more for their own sakes, than any Body's else.

1681.
February.

At this time was perpetrated the most barbarous and audacious Murder that had almost ever been heard of in *England*. Mr. *Thynn*, a Gentleman of 9000 *l. per Annum*, and lately married to Lady *Ogle*, who repenting herself of the Match, fled from him into *Holland* before they were bedded; was set upon by three Ruffians, who shot him as he was going along the Street in his Coach. This unhappy Gentleman being much engaged in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Cause, it was feared That Party might put some violent Construction on this Accident, the Actors therein making their Escape just for the time, and being unknown. I hapned to be at Court that Evening, when the King hearing the News, seemed greatly concerned at it, not only for the Horror of the Action itself, which was shocking to his natural Disposition, but also for fear of the Turn the Anticourt Party might give thereto. I left the Court, and was just stepping into Bed, when Mr. *Thynn's* Gentleman came to me to grant him an Hue and Cry, and immediately at his Heels comes the Duke of *Monmouth's* Page, to desire me to come to him at Mr. *Thynn's* Lodging, sending his Coach for me, which I made use of accordingly. I there found his Grace surrounded with several Lords and Gentlemen, Mr. *Thynn's* Friends and Mr. *Thynn* himself mortally wounded

12.

1681.

wounded with five Shot from a Blunderbuss. I on the Spot granted several Warrants against Persons suspected to have had a Hand therein, and that Night got some Intelligence concerning the Actors themselves. At length, by the Information of a Chairman, who had carried one of the Ruffians from his Lodging at *Westminster* to the Black Bull, there to take Horse, and by means of a loose Woman, who used to visit the same Person, the Constables found out the Place of his Abode, and there took his Man, by Nation a *Swede*, who being brought before me, confessed himself Servant to a *German* Captain, who had told him he had a Quarrel with Mr. *Thynn*, and had often ordered him to watch his Coach; and that particularly that Day the Captain no sooner understood the Coach to be gone by, than he booted himself, and with two others, a *Swedish* Lieutenant and a *Pole*, went on Horseback, as he supposed in quest of Mr. *Thynn*. By the same Servant I also understood where possibly the Captain and his two Companions were to be found; and having with the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Mordaunt* and others, searched several Houses, as he directed us, till six in the Morning, and having been in close Pursuit all Night, I personally took the Captain in the House of a *Swedish* Doctor in *Leicester-fields*. I went first into his Room, followed by Lord *Mordaunt*, where I found him in Bed, with his Sword at some distance from him on the Table; his Weapon I in the first place secured, and then his Person, committing him to two Constables. I wondered he should make so tame a Submission, for he was certainly a Man of great Courage, and appeared quite unconcerned from the very beginning, tho' he was very certain he should be found the chief Actor in the Tragedy. This Gentleman had, not long before, commanded the forlorn Hope, at the Siege of *Mons*, when but two, besides himself, of fifty under his Command, escaped with Life; and, in consideration of this Service, the Prince of *Orange* made him a Lieutenant of his Guards, and, in reward for the same, the King of *Sweden* gave him a Troop of Horse: But to insist no farther on this, his two Accomplices also were taken, and brought to my House,

Feb. 13.

House, where before I could finish the several Examinations I had to go through, the King sent for me to attend him in Council, for that purpose, with the Prisoners and Papers. His Majesty ordered me to give him an Account of the Proceedings hitherto, as well with regard to the apprehending of the Prisoners, as their Examination, and then examined them himself; and when the Council rose, ordered me to put every thing into writing, and in form, against the Trial; which took me up a great part of the Day, tho' I had got one of the Clerks of the Council, and another Justice of the Peace to assist me, both for the sake of Dispatch and my own Security, the nicety of the Affair requiring it, as will, in the Sequel, appear.

The Council met again, among other things, to examine the Governour of young Count *Coningsmark*, a young Gentleman then in Mr. *Faubert's* Academy in *London*, and supposed to be privy to the Murther. Upon this Occasion, the King sent for me, to attend the Council, where the said Governor confessing, That the eldest Count *Coningsmark*, who had been in *England* some Months before, and made his Addresses to the Lady who so unfortunately married Mr. *Thynn*, arrived *incognito* ten Days before the said Murther, and lay disguised till it was committed, gave great Cause to suspect That the Count was at the Bottom of this bloody Affair; and his Majesty ordered me thereupon to go and search his Lodgings, which I did with two Constables; but the Bird was flown; he went away betimes in the Morning of the Day after the Deed was perpetrated; of which I immediately gave the King an Account.

I several times afterwards attended on the King, both in private and in Council, from time to time to give him Information, as fresh matter occurred, or appeared; and upon the whole it was discovered, partly by the Confession of the Parties concerned, and partly by the Information of others, That the *German* Captain had been for eight Years an Intimate with Count *Coningsmark*, one of the greatest Men in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, his Uncle being at that time Governor of *Pomerania*, and
near

1681. near upon marrying the King's Aunt; and moreover that during the time he was in *England* before, he had made his Addresses to the Lady *Ogle*, the only Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been married to the deceased Mr. *Thynn*, and that the said Count had resented something as an Affront from Mr. *Thynn*: That the Captain, moved thereto out of pure Friendship to the Count, tho' not at all with his Privy, as pretended, had determined within himself to revenge his Cause, and that in consequence of such his Resolution the Murder hapned: It appeared also that such his cruel Design was furthered by the Assistance of the *Swedish* Lieutenant, and the *Pole* who had been by him obliged to discharge the Blunderbuss into the Coach. I was extremely glad that in this whole Business there was no *English* Person directly or indirectly concerned; for the Fanatics had buzzed it about That the Design was chiefly against the Duke of *Monmouth*; so that I had the King's Thanks more than once, the Thanks of my Lord *Hallifax* and several others, for my Diligence in tracing out the true Springs and Motives of this horrid Action, as well as the Actors themselves. The Duke of *Monmouth* had been out of the Coach above an Hour, and, by the Confession of the Criminals, I found they were not to have made the Attempt if his Grace had been with Mr. *Thynn*.

Mean while, it was suspected that Count *Cóningsmark* was still in the Kingdom; and search being made after him, he was met with alone in Disguise at *Gravesend*, by a Servant of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, just as he was stepping out of a Sculler, intending the very next Day to embark on Board of a *Swedish* Ship. Being brought up to Town, the King immediately called an extraordinary Council to examine him. I was present upon this Occasion, and observed that he appeared before the King with all the Assurance imaginable. He was a fine Person of a Man, and I think his Hair was the longest I ever saw. He was very quick of Parts, but his Examination was very superficial, for which Reason he was by the King and Council ordered to

to be, the same Day, examined by the Lord Chief Justice, the Attorney General, and my self, but he confessed nothing of the Murder, pretending the Reason why he lay at this time concealed to be that he was then under Cure for a small Venereal Disorder, and did not care to appear in public, till the Course of his Prescription was over; and that his going away in Disguise after the Fact was committed, was by the Advice of Friends, who told him it would reflect on him should it be known he was in *England*, when an Intimate of his laboured under so violent a Suspicion of having committed so black a Deed; and that he endeavoured to make his Escape, not knowing how far the Laws of this Land might for that very reason involve him in the Guilt. But being at the King's Couchée the Night after, I perceived by his Majesty's Discourse, That he was willing the Count should get off. 1681.

A few Days afterwards, Monf. *Faubert* who kept the French Academy in *London*, came and desired me to put him in a way how to save Count *Coningmark's* Life, insinuating to me, That as he was a Man of vast Fortune, he could not make a better use of it than to support his own Innocence, and shield himself from the Edge of the Law, in a strange Country. I told him, That if the Count was really Innocent, the Law would naturally acquit him, as much tho' a Foreigner as if he was a Native; but that he ought to be cautious how he made any Offers to pervert Justice; for that it were to make all Men of Honour his Enemies, instead of gaining them to be his Friends. This was one of the first Bribes of Value ever offered to me, which I might have accepted without any Danger of Discovery, and without doing much for it: But my Opinion has always been that what is so acquired is no Addition to our Store, but rather the Cause of its Waste, according to the saying, *Male paria male delabuntur*; I therefore rejected this now as I had done others before, and as I hope I shall always do for the time to come. 26.

Bills being found at *Hicks's* Hall against the three Murderers of Mr. *Thynn*, as Principal, and against the Count as Accessary; 27.

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1681. they the next Day made their Appearance at the Old Baily, where, after a Trial which lasted from Nine in the Morning to Five in the Afternoon, and a very vigorous Prosecution on the Part of Mr. Thynn's Relations, the three were brought in Guilty as Principals, and the Count by the same Jury acquitted as not Accessary; it being *per medietatem Linguae*, according to the Privilege of Strangers. I was the first that carried the News of this to the King, who seemed to be not at all displeased at it; but the Duke of Monmouth's Party, who all appeared to add Weight to the Prosecution, were extremely dissatisfied that the Count had so escaped.

March 10. The Captain, and the other two his Accomplices in the Murder of Mr. Thynn, were, pursuant to their Sentence, hanged in the Street where they had perpetrated the Crime. The Captain died without any the least Symptom of Fear, or offering at the least glance of Reflection on Count Coningsmark; and seeing me in my Coach as he passed by in the Cart, he made a Bow to me with the most steady Countenance, as he did to several of the Spectators he knew, before he was turned off; in short, his whole Carriage, from the first Moment he was apprehended, to the last that he resigned his Breath, favoured much of Gallantry, but not at all of Religion.

May 9. 1681. Having thus concluded the History of this remarkable Transaction, I shall only, by the way, observe that I was soon after appointed Governor of York, in opposition to a strong and potent Interest against me. About this time I had a very long Conversation with my good Friend, the Earl of Halifax, who continued steady for a Parliament; and expressed himself of Opinion, That the Duke had gained no great Ascendant over the King, by his late Journey into England, from whence he was now upon his return to Scotland; a Journey quite disagreeable even to the King's own Friends; and indeed he was chiefly persuaded to it by his Servants, who gained by his being here.

The next Day came News, That his Highness had been in great Danger of being cast away in his Voyage back to the North,

North, the Ship he was in having struck upon *Tarmouth* Sands, 1681.
and that a great Number of the Passengers had been lost, a piece
of News that was at first contradicted, but in a Day or two con-
firmed by a particular Account, That the *Glocester*, a third Rate, May 12.
in which the Duke had embarked for *Scotland*, had actually suf-
fered Shipwreck upon *Tarmouth* Sands, and that not a Soul had
escaped but the Duke and about a Hundred and Sixty Persons
more, and that among the lost were the Lords *O Brian*, and *Rox-*
borough, and Mr. *Hyde*, Lord *Clarendon*'s Brother.

Waiting this Day on my Lord *Halifax*, he told me that the 22.
Day before, being *Sunday*, the Duke of *Monmouth* came to him
after Prayers, and asked him if it was true That his Lordship,
as was reported, had advised the King, in Council, to issue out a
Proclamation to forbid every Body from keeping him Company:
and that he had answered That he was not obliged to satisfy
him, whether he had so advised his Majesty or not; and that the
Duke replied there would be no need of a Proclamation to pre-
vent him from keeping his Lordship's Company, and that in an-
other place he would have said more to him, and so went
away.

It must be by all confessed that his Grace in this acted a very
imprudent Part, for he must needs have known that his thus
questioning a Privy Councillor concerning advice given by him
at the Board, would sound very harsh to the King: And on the
other Hand, if his Intentions were really for a Quarrel, he might
have chosen a more proper Place, and have said more, or nothing
at all. I offered to serve his Lordship with my Life upon this
Occasion; but he was so very good as to say, That if it came
to a Necessity of that sort, he would make use of somebody he
did not esteem so much as he did me; but that, however, he
did not think himself obliged to fight upon that Account; tho'
he should ever be ready to defend himself while he wore a Sword
by his Side.

The next Day a Council was held at *Hampton Court*, where,
as soon as it was up, his Lordship told me an order had

1682. been passed to this Effect, " that Whereas the Duke of *Monmouth* " had been guilty of some threatenng Speeches to a Member of " that Board, in relation to something offered to his Majesty in " Council ; his Majesty considered the same as an unmannerly " Insolence towards himself ; and did therefore charge all his Ser- " vants, and all such as had dependance on him, not to keep " Company with, or frequent the said Duke of *Monmouth* for " the time to come."

June 3. I had soon after a long Conference with Lord *Halifax*, where- in I observed to him, That he was too frank and open with some in Business with him, and with others, who were well in the King's Favor, and that they generally betrayed him ; and desired him to keep himself more to himself if possible. He told me he was very sensible of the Truth and Importance of what I said, but continued, That he could not avoid the Freedom I condemned in the course of Business, and hoped his Integrity would support him. At this time he gave me directions how to behave in the North, but they were such as in common political Prudence must be here suppressed.

And now I retired to my Government of *York*, where, tho' many Transactions were pretty remarkable, they are of too private and particular a Nature to be here enumerated ; I shall therefore only observe, That the City of *York* had been more noted than most places in *England*, for the height and virulence of Faction, but that after I had been there some time, finding some of the Leaders willing to abate of their warmth, I engaged myself in some private Discourse with Mr. Alderman *Ramsden*, one of the most extraordinary of the whole Fraternity, and so well explained to him the Danger they were in, if they did not shew some speedy Signs of Remorse and Repentance for their former Behaviour, That he confessed himself sensible of Errors committed upon several Occasions, (*viz.*) in that they had so often persisted in their Choice of such Members as they knew to be quite ungrateful to the King ; in that they had so unhand- somely received the Duke of *York* when he passed through their City,

City, in his way to *Scotland*; and in that they had petitioned for a Parliament, but never address'd or abhorred: But that after all he was afraid their Offences were too enormous to be pardoned, upon a Consideration less than the surrender of their Charter, which they did not know how to think of. I then asked him what he thought the City might be persuaded to do by way of some Atonement: To which he answered, they might be brought to do three things if they might be accepted. *First*, To lay aside Alderman *Thompson*, a peevish Antimonarchical Fellow, to whom it fell of Course to be Lord Mayor the next Year, provided his Majesty would, by Letter, command them so to do. *Secondly*, To chuse a new High Steward, and to offer the Honour to his Royal Highness, in lieu of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom they would put out, or in case his Highness should refuse it, to his Lordship of *Halifax*; and *Thirdly*, to elect better Members for that City, when occasion should offer. These three things, he said, were feasible, might they be thought sufficient.

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June 20.

I immediately gave Notice of this our Conversation to my Lord, now Marquis, of *Halifax*, who in a few Days sent me for Answer, That tho' he approved of the setting aside of *Thompson* from being Lord Mayor, he could by no means think it safe to venture the King's Letter upon it, to the Corporation; except the Success of the Attempt were actually certain; and especially as Things were in so very fair a way above, particularly with regard to the *Quo Warranto* against the City Charter, which if it succeeded every other Corporation would be obliged to truckle; and that should the King's Letter not meet with the proposed Effect, it would rebound back again upon the Court, and be an Encouragement to the other Party. That as for their chusing his Highness to be their High Steward, he judg'd it improper and unfit upon many Accounts; and as for himself, he was willing to put himself upon the Issue of what they propos'd, provided it did not seem to be his own Request, and that it should appear he had a considerable Number of Friends and Well-wishers

1682. wishers therein, tho' the Event itself should not answer: such was the Substance of what he returned.

Jan. 10. His Lordship soon after advised me to come to *London*, where
18. he had some things to tell me, which it would be more proper to communicate near at hand, than at such a Distance. In consequence of which I repaired to our Capital the Month following,

February. where being arrived, his Lordship was pleased to acquaint me with the whole of a late Dispute he had had with my Lord *Hyde*, now Earl of *Rocheſter*, and first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. His Lordship had informed the King of 40000 *l.* of his *Hearth-Money*, which had been misapplied to some private Use or Uses Lord *Rocheſter* could not but know of, and was much suspected to share in; together with some Miscarriages and Mismanagement of the Revenue, which it seems, no Body but his Lordship had the Courage to expose to the King. He told me also he had lately brought in Lord *Sunderland* to be Secretary of State, by engaging the Duke of *York* in his behalf; and that now his Highness seemed to be kinder to that Lord, who had laboured all he could against him in the late Parliaments, than to himself, who had done all he could to serve him, and who had particularly made the most considerable Head against the Bill of Exclusion; and touched upon some hard Returns and Disappointments of the same kind, from the same Quarter. But still his Lordship was well with the King, it was in no degree in their Power to remove him, tho' they combined their whole Strength to effect it: And indeed I had reason to know how large an Influence he had over his Majesty; for to him it was wholly owing that I sat still in my Government of *York*.

A few Days afterwards, his Lordship told me of some hard Usage he had met with from Lord *Rocheſter*, contrary to their mutual Engagements, in favor of each other, upon his first entering into Business; and that having obtained a Promise to be Lord President, or Lord Privy Seal, as a Vacancy of either should first fall out, which hapned to be of the Seal, Lord *Rocheſter* had behind the Curtain done all in his Power for Mr. *Seymour*; that
upon

upon this Occasion he had been raised to the Dignity of Marquis, which he had never desired, with a View to make him amend for the Seal; but that not declining the one or the other he had obtained both; and that thereupon *Seymour* had left the Court. That however, the King commanding it, he was willing to be upon good Terms with his Lordship, but that he must give him some sufficient Assurance that he was more a Friend to him than to *Sunderland*, ere he could repose any Degree of Confidence in him. That in the mean time he would keep in his Corner, and be attentive to whatever might be for the King's Service, and not be afraid to acquaint his Majesty with what might be for his Majesty's Disadvantage, whoever were the Actors or Transactors; and in fine, that when he had Power, he should be careful to distinguish those who were his Friends, from those who were not so.

Now the Affair of the Forty Thousand Pound, said to have been lost to the King, upon his Hearth Money, and charged upon Lord *Rocheſter*, and the other Lords Commissioners of the Treasurer, came to be argued by Counsel on both sides, before the King; and it plainly appeared that the King was actually so much a Loser; but such was the Interest that Lord *Rocheſter*, supported as he was by the Duke of *York*, Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and Lord *Sunderland*, had with his Majesty, that little or no Notice of the Fraud was taken at that time: Except that some of that Lord's Friends having taken the Liberty to censure Lord *Halifax*, as too busy in making the Discovery, the King justified him so far as to say openly that Day, in Court, upon the Trial, That his Lordship had done nothing in the whole Affair, but by his Order and Approbation. My Lord *Halifax* told me this was not the only Matter that would appear, as to the ill Management of the Royal Revenue, and observed That the anticourt Party courted him at such a Rate, that he feared it might create a Jealousy elsewhere.

A few Days afterwards his Lordship told me the Duke made it his Business to clear himself from having had any concern
on

1681. on either side, for the Fraud on the one hand, and the Discovery on the other, were the general Talk of the Town; but that his Highness should apply to him, before he would apply to his Highness. He told me also that he had, the Day before, been with the King, and that he was two Hours in private with him; and that he had observed to his Majesty, That a Report was spread as if Lord *Rochester* was to have the Lord High Treasurer's Staff delivered to him; but that he was in hopes there was no such Intention, for that it would be a great Reflection upon himself, and look as if his Majesty thought he had done wrong to the Man whom he immediately so favoured; and that his Majesty should say, *The Man should not be Lord Treasurer the sooner for what he had lately done as Lord Rochester*; and that his Majesty was angry with him for giving Ear to so groundless a Rumour.

Feb. 28.

Two Days afterwards, Lord *Halifax* told me The Duke had assured him, He was not in the least concerned in the Difference between him and Lord *Rochester*; and that he had replied, He was sure his Highness could wish him no Ill, and that if he did, he should never do any thing to oppose him, but that in such a case he should not be able to serve him with the Zeal he could wish, and that his Highness might possibly repent he had lost his Service to the degree he desired to use it for him: That he had done no more than he had been by the King commanded to do, and that there was no Man in the Kingdom so great that he could be decently displeased with what was done at the King's Command: That he perceived they, meaning *Rochester*, had a mind to rid their Hands of him, and that it was likely they might endeavour to make him uneasy in his Station, but that he would take care they should not remove him, *First*, because he would stay with the King, to be ready to serve him, and, *Secondly*, Because he had a mind to disappoint those who so earnestly longed for his Absence: That his whole View had been to save the King Money, and that he knew no greater Service that could be done to his Highness, if he would but be pleased to look a little

little before him into Futurity: That the King indeed had made him a greater Man than he deserved to be, but that he had this to say for himself, He was a Gentleman, and that his Highness ought in justice to have some Consideration for those that had Escutcheons, as well as for those that had none; some of the Duke's Creatures were scarce Gentlemen; and that for his Part he should never say any thing to his Highness but Truth, which tho', at first Sight, it might look a little Plain and Homely, nothing at Bottom carryed with it a greater Fund of Respect, and much more to the same Effect. That to this his Highness made Answer, That what his Lordship had said seemed to be very rational, that he was sensible of great Obligations he had to him, and that he never would forget them, but serve him in all he was able, and that so his Lordship should find.

His Lordship also told me, the same Day, That he had been with My Lady Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and that, among other Discourse, he told her, He found that in case he should stand in need of his Majesty's Favor, he was not to expect many Friends on that side of *Whitehall*; and that she made Answer, That some who had been very much his Friends, meaning *Rochester*, came thither sometimes, and that she hoped they would be as much his Friends again: That to this he replied, He was in much doubt as to her Intercession, and good Offices, in such a strait, but hoped he should avoid the Danger of making Use thereof; and took notice that she thereupon blushed, and seemed to be in some Confusion. His Lordship further said, That were he quite as young as he had been, he might be as well with her as others; but upon this I observed, That his Lordship ought to have been furnished with a good Purse as well as something else that began with the same Letter; for so, report said, Lord *Danby* kept Intelligence so long and so fair with her.

The Court and the whole Town were infinitely divided as to the Dispute between the two Lords. Those who had any Dependence on Payments out of the Exchequer, durst not but be on the Side of Lord *Rochester*: But all sober and serious Persons,

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who were independant, and wished well to the Government, applauded the Integrity, the Zeal, and the Courage of the Lord Privy Seal, who would not see so great a Sum of the King's Money misapplied, and was so honestly bold as to complain, tho' he was sure he should thereby raise a Number of violent Enemies against him; and particularly the Whigs, as they now called the anticourt Party, were lavish of their Commendations, not only on account of the Discovery, but in hopes this great Man, might, by this Quarrel, be brought to a cooler degree of Moderation.

March 20.

In the midst of this, all Christendom seemed to be in Danger of being involved in a bloody War, the Rebels of *Hungary* having called in the *Turk* to assist them against the Emperor, and, one or two excepted, all the Princes of the Empire, and the Kings of *Spain* and *Sweden*, preparing to defend the Empire against the *Turk* on the one Hand, and the *French* King, likely to fall upon *Flanders* or some of the Princes of *Germany*, on the other: While we sat at ease amidst the Blessings and Plenty of a Peace, which it was thought would be lasting, because of the Death of the busy and factious *Shaftsbury*, not long before retired into *Holland*.

Going with my Lord Privy Seal, to take the Air, in *Hyde-Park*, he told me he hoped I was not sorry he had pressed me to come up to *London*, seeing I could not so well have been made acquainted with the State of Affairs at such a Distance as *York*: That it was uncertain how long he should be able to keep his Station, driven at so fiercely as he was by some, but that he imagined he had the King to Friend, and could not conceive he would part with him for no other Fault than the having obeyed his Commands; but says he if we fall again under the Influence of *French* Councils, I shall fairly quit, there being greater Endeavours against me on the other side of the Water, than on this; and desired me when I got into the Country again, to turn the Report of his Disgrace into Raillery, till he should give me notice of his Retreat, which he would early do, if he found it unavoidable.

Two

Two Days afterwards, I went to see Lord *Danby* in the Tower, and found him to express himself much more obligingly towards the Lord Privy Seal, than he had been used to do heretofore; among other things, he said his Lordship had taken a prudent and becoming Course in declaring himself for a Parliament, and that he was very glad of it upon a private Account; for that he despaired of being enlarged till there was a Sitting. He said, Lord *Rocheſter* and his Party might support themselves for a while, but that the Interest they built upon was no better than a sandy Foundation.

The next Day I communicated this to Lord *Halifax*, who on his Part seemed also to be more favorably inclined towards Lord *Danby*, than he had for some time been: He said he had already Enemies enough, and that what he had had to say against that Lord was now out of his Mind; but that however he would not now make himself Enemies by being his Friend, as he had formerly done by being otherwise; so that I found Lord Privy Seal was making up his Interest on the one hand, as Lord *Rocheſter* was on the other, for the latter had sent for *Seymour* to Court, and promised to be his Friend. Lord Privy Seal told me that *Seymour* had made some Advances to close with him, and that a general Reconciliation was endeavouring on the part of Lord *Rocheſter*'s Friends. I told his Lordship, That, in my poor Opinion, he had much better stand by himself, now that he had possessed himself of the Interest of the Nation, by the means of what he had done in opposition to Lord *Rocheſter*; that if he closed in with that side again, he might run the Hazard of losing the good Opinion of his Country, which he now so deservedly enjoyed, whereas if he kept himself separate, he might be Master of both the one and the other; and that set the Case he should fall, the King would soon be sensible of such a want of him, that he could not long be spared from Court. To this his Lordship replied, It would be matter of great Difficulty for him to stay there with Men, whose Interest so much it was to remove him. That they would be apt to play him Tricks, knowing that while he

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in any play, their Carriage and Conduct would be no Secrets to his Majesty; but that if they did ingross the King all to themselves they would not long keep their Hold; for that the King had one Quality which would always preserve him from being long in ill Hands, meaning his facility to hear all Persons, and to admit of all Informations from a Back-door, while the Favourites did not in the least dream of such his Attention. His Lordship then lamented the prodigious Influence the Duchess of *Portsmouth* had over the King, complaining that she betrayed him not in his Councils only, but in his Bed also, and that she certainly lay with the Grand Prior of *France*, who often came over, under the Mask of Love, the better and more effectually to transmit Intelligence and Information to His Master the *French* King. He urged it That the King was too passive with regard to these Things, and observed it as his greatest Fault, That no Argument could prevail on him to resent what he clearly saw he ought to resent, and that he descended too low from the sublime Elevation of his Dignity. His Lordship then took notice, that I also, in my Station was the subject of much Envy, and advised me, when I returned again into the Country, to demean my self so as to gain as great a Measure of Favor and Benevolence as I decently could.

Upon the whole, I perceived that the Lord Privy Seal had the better and more approved Cause, and that Lord *Rocheſter* had the more potent and overruling Interest; that the Lord Privy Seal deservedly weighed with the Body of the Nation, and that the Lord *Rocheſter* weighed, tho' undeservedly enough, only with the Duke of *York*, the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, my Lord of *Ormond*, and others at Court, who depended upon his Majesty's Purſe, which laboured under the Distribution of the Lord *Rocheſter*. In ſhort the Fear was, That the Diligence of thoſe ſo near the King might prevail on him to abandon the Privy Seal, who depended upon himſelf only, upon no Intereſt but his own, and upon the Merit, which was certainly great, of the important Services he had already done, and was beſt able for the future
to

to do for the Crown; and here we put a Period to this Year. 1682.

I now returned to *York*, and heard that City had chosen the Duke of *Richmond* to be their High Steward, which I was not sorry to understand as their Affairs then stood, my Lord Privy Seal having declined that Honour for the sake of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was to be put out before another could be admitted. The Dutcheſs took this very kindly, and upon receiving the Patent for that Office, which the City presented to the young Duke in a Gold Box, her Grace ſent my Lord Mayor a Letter of Thanks, wherein ſhe ſaid the King was very well pleaſed that the ſecond City in *England* had had that regard for her Son, and aſſured him and the Corporation of her utmoſt Services. But the Duke of *Buckingham* took it extremely ill of them on the other hand, and wrote them ſuch a Letter, as might eaſily convince them of it. The Duke of *Buckingham* being well with the Lord Privy Seal, I was at ſome Loſs to know how to ſteer between the divided Interests, but I hope I did it in ſuch a manner as to give offence to neither. 1683. April.

In *June* following, we were alarmed with a Report of a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt the King, of ſuch as had been diſappointed of Preferments at Court, and of proteſtant Diſſenters. The ſame Conſpiracy was alſo againſt the Duke of *York*, and the Deſign was to have ſhot both his Majeſty and his Highneſs as they came from *Newmarket*, the Day of their Return being fixed. This was to have been executed by forty Men, who, the Blow given, were to have ſcoured to *London*, and to have reported it to have been done by the Papiſts. In *London* it was ſaid there was a Body of Men ready to riſe, and to take immediate Poſſeſſion of the City and the Tower, and conſequently of the whole Nation, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* was ready to head the Infurrection. June 26.

This was miraculoſly defeated by a fire which burned down a great part of the Town of *Newmarket*, and cauſed the King's Departure from thence ten Days ſooner than was at firſt intended. The Deſign thus fruſtrated, it was afterward renewed to kill the two

1683. two Royal Brothers as they came from *Hamptou-Court*, but the King being alone they postponed it, their View being to destroy both or neither. These and the like Disappointments put it into the Head of one of the Melancholy Conspirators, That God, to use his own Phrase, was against them, which wrought on him to disclose the whole Affair, and he accordingly did. Upon this, many of the Conspirators, and Abettors withdrew; the Duke of *Monmouth* fled, Lord *Grey* made his Escape after he had been taken, but Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was apprehended and committed to the Tower, together with the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, Lord *Russel*, and many others; and orders were sent down, to us in the North, to keep a watchful Eye, and a ready Hand over all suspicious Persons, and particularly to look out for one Mr. *Goodenough*, and one Mr. *Nelthorp*, who were supposed to have made their way towards us. By some Scotchmen we intercepted and examined, we understood this Conspiracy to have been general with the Fanatics and Discontented in both Kingdoms, and that the Correspondence was carried on, between them, by the *Scotch* Pedlars, and other Emiffaries in disguise, which caused great Scrutiny and Search to be made and observed with regard to all such People from the North: But to dwell on the Particulars of this Plot, and the Proofs made out against those who suffered for it, were needless, after what has been said and recorded by many both privately and publickly concerning it; so I shall only say, that in the Conclusion it proved fatal to Lord *Russel*, the eldest Son and Heir to the Earl of *Bedford*, and others of more inferior note.

Aug. 12.

While we were labouring under the Terrors of the late Conspiracy, uncertain to what degree it might extend, and what might be the future Purpose and Resolution of the Desperate People concerned, the rest of Christendom was in some seeming Danger of being overspread by the *Turk*, and now, more than ever, under the Apprehensions of such a Catastrophe, the common Enemy having for some time laid close Siege to *Vienna*, and reduced that Capital to great Extremities. But at length it was

was relieved by the fortunate Valour of the King of *Poland*, assisted principally by the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Emperor's General, and partly by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*: But the bare mention of this being as much as can be required at my Hands, I shall return to the Posture and Current of our own Affairs.

In *October*, I had a Letter from my Lord *Halifax*, to acquaint me that I had the King's Leave to come to Town, which I had desired, as thinking it to be necessary I should be near the King's Person, at a time when I thought he would be taking of new Measures and making of new Regulations, with regard to Affairs in general, and Officers in particular, for his own and the Nation's greater Security after the late horrid Machinations; accordingly I sat out the latter end of this Month for *London*, where I arrived in *November*.

I went to visit my Lord Privy Seal, and found him still rooted in the King's good Esteem; but that the Duke was not altogether so grateful to him as he ought to have been. I found also that the Differences between his Lordship and Lord *Rocheſter* not only subsisted still, but with more Acrimony and Warmth than before; and understood that the Lord Mayor of *York* was sent for up, by an Order of Council, on account of some Words he had spoken. The King received me very graciously, and the Duke seemed kind to me, nor did my Lord *Rocheſter*, whom I visited, scruple to favour me with a decent Reception.

But I found the Hopes of a Parliament to be still at a very great Distance, tho' *Flanders* was in danger of falling next Spring under the Yoke of *France*, and tho' the Nation was much dissatisfied at the tedious Delay, that part of the Nation, I mean, that was in Opposition to the *French* Interest. And just now it hapned that the Grand Prior of *France* being in *England*, and observed to be very fond of the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and she of him, the King conceived so great a Jealousy thereat that he sent him away; and it was shrewdly suspected the Duchess would not be long behind him, which few People seemed to be very sorry for.

1683.

I had heard, from a great Man, that something would shortly happen very much to the Mortification of the Duke of *York* and his Party, a Mystery which seemed in a few Days afterwards to be explained. The Duke of *Monmouth* being suspected to have taken Refuge somewhere abroad, on Account of the Conspiracy, surrenders himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, at *Whitehall*, where, the Thing being before concerted, the King and Duke went to him, and, after an Hour's Discourse, suffered him to go to his Lodgings at the Cockpit, attended by his own Servants, and under no other Restraint than that of a Sergeant at Arms; but what was said or done at this Interview, may be conjectured sooner than known.

This was matter of surprize to all People, and waiting on Lord Privy Seal, he told me, He doubted not but the Duke of *Monmouth's* Affair, his Grace having that Day kissed the King's Hand, the Duke's, and the Queen's, would be the Subject of great Speculation, and that various Guesses would be made as to the Intercession that brought it to pass. I told him the World said The Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and Lord *Sunderland* had done it, and that it was publickly known That the King had the Day before in Council said, It was at the Request of the Duke of *York*, to whom his Grace had made Submission, and disclaimed all Competition with for the Crown. His Lordship answered, that the thing was far from so, for that the Duke of *York* and those in his Interest, had opposed it to the very last; and thereupon owned himself to have been chiefly instrumental therein; and gave me several Reasons both public and private, tho' not proper to be here enumerated, why he laboured to that end. By this it plainly appeared to me, That notwithstanding the extraordinary strength of the Interest combined against him, this noble Lord had great Power with his Majesty. His Lordship moreover gave me to understand, that his Grace had made Confession of the late Plot, but would not give any public Evidence against the Conspirators. But to dismiss this, certain it is that whoever wrought so industriously, with the King, in favor of the Duke of
Mon-

Monmouth, his Majesty himself may be said to have had a large Share therein. He had a paternal Affection for him, nor could refrain from the most open and public Expressions of it wherever he saw him; and the Duke on his part paid all the respect and duty imaginable in attending upon, and following the King. Mean while, the whole Court began to discover, that tho' his Highness of *York* seemed outwardly to agree to the Duke of *Monmouth's* Readmission, it was by no means an Act of Choice, but of Necessity, the King having declared He would have it so; and that he was not made privy to it above two Days before it was effected. 1683.
Aug. 28.

The King had now conceived a Displeasure against the City of *York*, and coming from the Duchess of *Portsmouth's*, he asked me, leaning upon my Arm, If I knew sufficient Matter for bringing a *Quo Warranto* against their Charter. I told his Majesty, I did not, but would endeavor to inform myself, but feared I could not so well do it at such a Distance as if I was upon the Spot: To which his Majesty replied, *I only recommend it to you.* The Lord Mayor it seems had refused to let a Mountebank erect his Stage in that City, tho' he was furnished with the King's Recommendation, which the Man complaining of, his Majesty thought himself thereby slighted, or injured. 29.

The Lord Mayor of *York* being arrived, came to desire leave to make use of my Name before the Council, so far as to say, The Governor knew how ready he was with his Assistance upon Occasion of the late Plot, to which I gave my Consent. I well knew That the Duke of *York*, who thought him Accessary to his once ill Reception in that City, wished in his Heart the Man might be punished; but I imagined I could not but in justice stand by him in what was right, and that I could not do amiss in carrying him to my Lord Privy Seal, who gave him his Promise to assist him at the Board. I knew there was pique and malice in the Complaint against him, and was in hopes it might be a means of making him a thorough Convert, if he was but mercifully handled in this troublesome Matter. Decemb. 4.

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Being,

1683.

Being, the next Day, at Lady *Portsmouth's*, the King told me there was fresh Complaint against the Lord Mayor of *York*, and that he was afraid he was but a bad Man. I said I was obliged to acquaint his Majesty with this Truth, That he was very ready to give me his Assistance in *York*, upon the late Dreadful Occasion; but that I could say nothing in Defence of what he might have committed since I left the Place; to have done with this;

Decemb. 6. The Duke of *Monmouth* having obtained his Pardon, refused to sign a public Declaration of his Knowledge of the late Conspiracy against the King, for which he was ordered to keep from *Whitehall*. My Lord Privy Seal told me, The manner of doing this, as required, was something hard, but that his Grace ought intirely to have submitted himself to the King's Pleasure. His Lordship I found was much concerned that the Duke had been so obstinate, and he had reason to be so, being now deemed, as he was, the chief Instrument that brought him again into Favor. The same Day Mr. *Sydney* was executed upon Tower Hill, as one of the Conspirators, but said nothing before he suffered. He only left a Paper with the Sheriff, which I heard the King say was very treasonable and evasive, tho' not wholly negative of the Fact laid to his charge; but, however, it was not thought proper to be printed. And now I found that the Duke of *York* was not at all pleased with the Lord Privy Seal, tho' he made open shew of the contrary, for that he was not consulted on the Restoration of the Duke of *Monmouth*; and it was his Lordship's own Expression, *That the Duke would never forgive it him*. But the King having been the chief Promoter of it, it did not appear that his Lordship had lost any Ground with him. The Duke of *Monmouth* would not perform what was expected of him, and how could his Lordship help it?

The Confederates, *Spain*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, and the rest, who were now preparing to resist the *French*, and to preserve *Flanders*, were very angry with us, for that we still supinely persisted in our Neutrality, and particularly the *Spaniard*, who said it was a Breach

Breach of our League with him; but all Remonstrances of this sort were to none effect; our King pretended his own Affairs were in so ill a Posture at Home, that he could not so much as think of involving himself in a War; which confirmed the Jealousy of our adhering to the *French* Interest, and of a private Commerce kept up with them, by the intervention of the *Duchess of Portsmouth* and others.

The Talk of the Town now was, That the Lord Privy Seal was not well with the King, and that at Court he met with Discouragements of such a Nature, as to make him retire from Business. I communicated this to his Lordship, who told me, He had, indeed, met with Discouragements from some, but none at all from the King, for that he was as well there as ever; and that there would be a farther Production of Affairs in a little time than was expected, and so pointed at the Thing that I easily guessed what he meant. A few Days afterwards I was with the Duke of *Albemarle*, who told me he was sorry to find That Lord Privy Seal, purely to outdo his Antagonist *Rocheſter*, should have had so great a Hand in bringing in *Monmouth*, and thereby have incurred the Duke of *York*'s Displeasure, as well as the Dislike of a great Number of the Loyalists, who were before his Friends. That, not many Hours before, the Duke had told him, That if the Lord Privy Seal had had no Friendship for him in any other Capacity, yet as being the King's Brother, he might have let him into the Secret, and not have brought in *Monmouth* quite without his Privy: That indeed he never could forget what the Lord Privy Seal had formerly done to serve him; but that he took a Way, if possible, to make him forget it; and that to his Knowledge his Lordship was still exerting his Labors to reunite the King and *Monmouth*. The Duke of *Albemarle* then observed, That his Highness knew his Relation to the Lord Privy Seal, but that the Loyalty and Respect he bore to his Highness was more considered by him than all that, and that he hoped his Lordship designed him no Disservice in this Affair, with much more to the same Purpose; in short, his Grace seemed

1683. much to lament what his Lordship had done in Favour of *Monmouth*. His Grace added, That if the Privy Seal would but trust him, he would tell him how to be too hard for *Rocheſter*, without recurring to ſuch unpopular Methods.

Jan. 2. I communicated the particulars of this Converſation to his Lordſhip, who answered, That he thereby perceived the Duke had a Mind to be upon better Meaſures with him; but that, abſolutely, he had not ſeen the Duke of *Monmouth* ſince he laſt left the Court; that as to what he had done for his Grace, it was purely in Obedience to the King's Commands; and that as the King would not allow him, it was impoſſible for him to have diſcloſed the Matter to his Highneſs; and concluded, that he was to dine with the Duke of *Albemarle*, the *Wednesday* following, and ſhould the better know what to ſay to his Grace, if he touched upon this Affair, ſince I had taken Care to apprize him of his Thoughts.

I learnt from a great Man, that we were in no Way of having a Parliament, there being ſome near the King, who adviſed him to another Way of Ruling the Kingdom. The ſame Gentleman, at the ſame time lamented, That now the Fanatics had nothing elſe to ſay againſt the Government, they muſt have ſufficient Cauſe of Complaint upon this Account, as well as on Account of ſeveral other Points now in Agitation. Some Days afterwards, my Lord Privy Seal told me, He had been very earneſt with the King to call a Parliament, and had repreſented to him, That tho' he had ſlipped the Opportunity of calling one immediately after the late Plot, when he could not poſſibly have failed of one according to his Mind, and might fear he ſhould meet with no good one now, he would do well to conſider, That the longer he deferred the Thing, the worſe it would be, and indeed ſo very bad, That it might be uſed as an Argument never to call one more: That nothing ought to have that Weight with him, as his Word given to the People; that the Law required a Parliament to be called every three Year; and that, upon the laſt Diſſolution, his Majeſty had promiſed a religious Obſervance

vance of the Laws, by a Proclamation setting forth his Reasons for dismissing that Parliament: That the general Construction put upon this was, that he intended to call another within the three Years, and that he feared an ill use might be made of his not doing what it was so generally supposed he certainly would: That tho' the Antimonarchists were now at a very low Ebb, and under great Discouragements, such his Majesty's procedure might raise a Spirit of Discontent where it was least expected, meaning among those, who tho' they were Friends to the Crown, were, at the same time, desirous he should govern according to Law, and not only desired, but expected it, since he had given his Royal Word, that he would do so: That if, however, his Majesty thought not well of this, he would be nevertheless so far from relinquishing his Service, that he would make it his study to find out Excuses to make him easy with the People. So then there was no possibility of seeing a Parliament assembled, but by some Compulsion from a foreign Cause, and no-body could tell, but that if the War went on, the Confederates might be provoked to declare against us.

In short, Affairs were now chiefly under the Management of the Duke of York, who carried every thing with a very lofty Hand; but, what is very Strange, the Earl of *Danby* was on the Point of stepping out of the Tower, tho' against his Highness's Consent. My Lord Privy Seal assured me his Enlargement was at hand; that he himself had been his Lordship's chief Friend, and that the King had made both the Duke and Lord *Rocheſter* seemingly set their Hands to it. The Duke, indeed, appeared to be hearty in it, and that the King was so, there could be no doubt; but *Rocheſter* and *Sunderland* did underhand oppose it with might and main, and so contrived that the Judges delayed to bail out his Lordship 'till the very last Day of the Term; those two Lords dreading, That *Danby* might join with *Halifax* to weaken their Interest.

And now it was resolved to bring a *Quo Warranto*, if with any Colour of Justice it could be done, against the Charter of York; and

1683.

Febr. 10.

1683. and two Days afterwards, Lord *Danby* was bailed out of his long Confinement of five Years, as were all the Popish Lords that had been under Durance ever since the Time of the first Plot. Lord *Danby* came the same Day to kiss his Majesty's Hand in the Bed-chamber, where I happened to be present. The King received him very kindly, and when the Earl complained of his long Imprisonment, his Majesty told him, he knew it was against his Consent, which his Lordship thankfully acknowledged; but they had no Manner of private Discourse together. My Lord Privy Seal came into the Presence presently after, and the two Lords saluted each other; but it was very slightly done on both Sides. The next Day, however, I went from the Lord Privy Seal, to wait upon the Earl, when his Lordship desired me to present his Service to him, and to tell him, That he should have taken a more particular Sort of Notice of him, but that he thought it would not prove so much for his Service: And the Earl said, It was for the very self same Reason he had behaved so indifferently towards his Lordship; for there was at that Time great Jealousy of a Friendship between them. Lord *Danby* told me, he would retire to his House out of Town, nor concern himself with Business, tho' he doubted not but he might if he would, but not upon the national Foundation he desired, and therefore would have nothing to do with it, declaring his Aversion to a French or a Popish Interest. He told me also, the Substance of what had passed between the Duke and him, at the visit he made to his Highness, after he had been with the King, and I thereby understood his Lordship was upon no very affectionate Terms with that Prince. He said his Highness told him, he had heard he had spoken slightly of him, and that he answered, It was true he had often been so unfortunate as to differ with him in Opinion, and could not help saying, That he had never yet found any Cause to repent him of it; but that for expressing himself any how against his Person, if he heard so, they were Whispers and Lies; and desired to know who were his Informers; but the Duke evaded that. In short, I found by my Lord Privy Seal, That he and the Earl of *Danby* had a good understanding together. The

The King went to *Newmarket*, and I followed him a few Days afterwards; when the Weather being very unseasonable and dirty, and walking about the Town with his Majesty, he observed, that my Shoes were but thin, and advised me to get a stronger Pair to prevent my catching cold, which, tho' a trivial Remark in itself, may serve as an Example of that Prince's great Goodness and Care for those Persons that were near him, tho' ever so inconsiderable. The Manner of the King's dividing his Time at this Place was thus: He walked in the Morning 'till Ten of the Clock; then he went to the Cockpit 'till Dinner-time; about Three he went to the Horse-races; at Six he returned to the Cockpit, for an Hour only; then he went to the Play, tho' the Actors were but of a terrible Sort; from thence to Supper; then to the Duchess of Portsmouth's 'till Bed-time; and so to his own Appartment to take his rest.

1683.
March 1.

But to have done with these Domestic Diversions, it may be proper just to take Notice, That the War abroad seemed to be in the Way of a very violent Continuance, tho' the French King had offered either a Truce or a Peace for a certain Term of Years: But then it was upon very hard Conditions, he refusing to give up any Thing he had taken, either from *Spain* or the Empire, so that there was no likelihood that the Confederates would agree thereto. Our King however, seconded the French King's Offers, recommended them to the Allies as reasonable, and proffered to be Guarrantee between them in Case they came to a Point.

1684.
March 25.

Mean while, Lord *Rocheſter* continued powerful enough to advance his Friends, and Mr. *Godolphin*, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, was made Secretary of State instead of Sir *Lyonel Jenkins*, who had leave, by Reason of his great Age, to retire; a Promotion that was not made without the Participation of the Lady *Portsmouth*. The Lord Privy Seal, the same Day, told me, That tho' all these combined Interests were still as averse to him as ever, the King was nevertheless as kind to him as he had usually been; but it was very obvious, That his Lordship was less in Business than before: His Lordship, however, had certainly a very

April 2.

1684. very large Portion of the King's Esteem, and what he said had
 May 11. generally great Weight with his Majesty. And now the Duke
 of *York* is declared Lord High Admiral of *England*, that is, he
 was invested with the Power of that Office, without either the
 Title or the Patent, because his Highness could not dispense with
 the Oaths or the Sacrament, a Circumstance which gave great Of-
 fence to Numbers of People. Nor must we forget another thing,
 tho' of a private Nature, which hapned this Day; for the Duchess
 of *Portsmouth*, contrary to custom, waiting on the Queen, at
 Dinner, as Lady of the Bedchamber, her Majesty was thereby
 thrown into such Disorder, that the Tears stood in her Eyes, while
 the other laughed at it, and turned it into a Jest.

May 25. News now came, that the *French* had possessed themselves of
Luxemburgh, which our Court seemed to be not at all displeased
 with; but there were those, and some of them the Kings best
 Friends, who were extremely sorry to hear it, that Place being reck-
 oned to be the Key of *Germany*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, and pro-
 bably too opportune to advance the Grandeur of the common
 Enemy. A few Days afterwards, I went to *Windsor*, to con-
 gratulate the King upon his Birth-Day; the Crowd, upon this Oc-
 casion, was great, but as for gaiety and gallantry, there was but
 little of either, especially as to Apparel. And now the Duke of
York is declared of the great Council, commonly called the Privy
 Council, whence he had been excluded ever since the Statute
 which required the taking of Oaths, which his Highness refusing
 upon this Readmission, it became the Subject of much Talk, and
 was deemed to be a Breach of one of the most solemn and most
 explicit Acts of Parliament.

June 15. Intending for the North, I went to take leave of the King,
 who told me, That those who had served him so carefully and so
 well as I had done, should always be in his Thoughts, and that I
 should find it so by Experience. I waited also on the Duke, and
 desired his Commands for *York*: He told me, He doubted not but
 I should do what became me for his Majesty's Service, and that
 for his own Part, he depended upon me. I assured his Highness,
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I should never fail in any Part of my Trust; but begged of him to hearken to no Stories that might be told him to my prejudice. I told him, that every County had its Competitors, and that it was impossible for me to hope to live without Enemies, and especially as I had the Honour of serving the King preferably to many of Equal and some of superior Rank, who could not but look upon me, for that Reason, with an Eye of Envy. A few Days afterwards, I visited the Lord *Danby*, who informed me, that Lord *Rockester* was closing in with the Moderate Men, not I suppose out of any Affection for them, but to make himself the stronger Rival against Lord Privy Seal, who was suspected to stand upon a firmer Bottom than he, and consequently to be better able to stand the Shock of a Parliament, in Case the King should be prevailed on to call one: But, alas! Parliaments seemed to be no longer thought of, and to be quite out of Doors; for, it was Lord *Danby*'s Opinion, There was a very strict Conjunction between us and *France*, tho' they had so lately taken *Luxemburg*, and were likely to succeed according to their own Wishes.

I returned to the North, and the *August* following, we had the grateful News that *Buda* had been taken for the Emperor, by the Duke of *Lorrain*; as also, that a Truce was made between the Emperor and the King of *France*, which looked as if a general Peace was at Hand, that the Christian Powers might the better exert themselves against the presumptuous Arms of the Infidel. And what still added to the good Aspect of the Thing, we had Advice, There had been great Alterations made with regard to the Grandees at Court, and that particularly Lord *Rockester* had been removed from the Head of the Treasury Board, to that of the Council; in which, tho' he was advanced in Honour, he was put backward in Profit and Power: It was therefore most evidently what he never sought for, and as plain, that Lord *Halifax* had brought it to pass: Thus it was that Lord *Danby*, now in the Country, conjectured; and it was soon confirmed to me, by a Letter from my Lord *Marquiss* himself, wherein he made

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1684 Use of these Words ; *You may believe I am not at all displeased to see such an Adversary removed from the only Place that could give him Power and Advantage ; and he bears it with so little Philosophy, that, if I had ill Nature enough, he gives me sufficient Occasion to Triumph. You see I cannot hinder myself from imparting my Satisfaction, to so good a Friend. But the wonder was, How the Finger of my Lord Privy Seal was able to effect this against the Shoulder of the Duke of York, who still continued a Friend to Rochester as much as ever.*

Sept. 4. I went to visit the Duke of Newcastle at his Castle of Nottingham, where the Duke of Buckingham had been not long before, and given a long Account of Affairs above, which seemed to intimate as if, notwithstanding what had lately hapned, the French Interest was still uppermost at Court. His Grace told me also, that Buckingham was very angry with the Marquis of Halifax, for refusing to admit of a private Communication with the French Ambassador, when he offered to bring him to his Lordship ; and that his Grace should say, His Power would never be considerable while he continued averse to that Interest. But in Contradiction to this, I towards the latter end of this same Month, received a very kind Letter from my Lord Marquis, and others from very great Persons, which gave me to understand, There would probably be some farther change at Court, that his Lordship stood very firm with the King, and that it was believed the Power of the French Interest was somewhat abated.

Jan. 20. And now a *Quo Warranto*, which had so long threatned them, was served upon the City of York, and the Resolution thereupon, was to send up the Charter, and to offer at no Defence against the King : I endeavoured, as much as I conveniently could, to appear quite indifferent on either Side ; but almost upon the Back of this, I had the sad News, from the Earl of Burlington, that his Majesty had been taken, upon the 2d of this Month, with a Fit of an Apoplexy, tho' they called it an Epilepsy ; and that he had continued as it were dead almost three hours, till he was brought to himself again, by bleeding, cupping, vomiting, and several other Means that

that had been used. His Lordship farthermore, in his Letter, ordered me, so to dispose of Things as might best prevent Disturbances and Troubles, in Case his Majesty should unfortunately suffer a Relapse; and all the necessary Precautions were taken accordingly; tho' upon the News that the King was recovered, and in some Way of continuance, there was nothing but Bonfires and Rejoycings in our Parts; a short lived Mirth; for three Days afterwards, we had News that his Majesty was fallen into a Relapse, and that his Physicians were in great Fear he could not recover. At this we doubled our Diligence to secure Peace and Quietness, and to prevent any Obstacle that might start up in prejudice to the Duke of York. Two Days afterwards came News, That my great and good Master was departed this Life. The Mail came not in till Four in the Morning, when I was setting up to receive it, resolving to suffer no Letter to go out till I had been with the Lord Mayor, and the High Sheriff, to whom I immediately delivered their own Letters, by which they had orders, together with myself, from the Privy Council and the Secretary of State, to proceed immediately and proclaim *James* the Second. As soon as we had got every thing ready for this Ceremony, which we had before Day, I gave leave for the Delivery of the rest of the Letters; and by Seven in the Morning, the High Sheriff, met by the Archbishop and most of the Gentlemen in the Town, moved towards the *Castle-yard* to proclaim the King there, while I caused all the Garrison, the necessary Guards excepted, to be drawn together in the *Thursday Market*.

By Nine in the Morning, the King was proclaimed by my Lord Mayor, the High Sheriff, and myself; the *First* did it in the usual Places of the City; the *Second* did it in the *Castle-yard*, for the County; and I did it in the *Thursday Market*, to the Garrison there drawn out together; I then ordered a double Discharge of the Artillery, and several Vollies, according to the Orders I had for that end received from my Lord *Sunderland*. All this was transacted with all imaginable Tokens of Peace and Joy; not only

1684

Feb.

1684. in *York* itself, but afterwards throughout the whole County, and, indeed, the whole Kingdom.

A strange Effect of Power it was from Heaven itself, That so strong a Party as had reared its Head in Parliament, and so pertinaciously called out for the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, should now upon his Accession acquiesce to him, with such Deference and quiet Submission. But it may be presumed, they were aware of the Difference there was between the Spirit of the late and the present King: The former they thought might, for peace sake, be sooner brought to abandon his Brother, than the latter tamely to renounce his Right and Title to three Kingdoms, for fear of a War. But what served in very great Measure to quiet the Minds and allay the Passions of Men, was King *James's* Declaration to the Privy Council immediately after the Breath was out of his Brother's Body, Whereby he promised to defend the Government of *England*, both in Church and State, and carefully to tread in the Footsteps of his late Majesty, with regard to his Kindness and Lenity towards his People; and that as on the one Hand, he would defend the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so on the other, he would invade no Man's Property.

I stayed at *York* a few Days to keep the Peace, and, in the mean time, had Notice from the proper Hands, that I was continued in my Command, and that I had leave to set out for *London*, as I, indeed, had desired. But now there began to be great Changes at Court; Lord *Rockester* was made Lord High Treasurer of *England*; Lord Privy Seal was made Lord President of the Council; which tho' it was a Step higher as to Place, it was much doubted that it was not at his Lordship's Desire; the Trust and Profit of the Privy Seal being judged to be an overbalance for the Honour of the other. And now we had the agreeable Prospect of a Parliament, which it was said his Majesty intended should meet in *May* next.

It was now beyond all Doubt that the King was a Papist; for he went publickly to Mass, tho' he ordered the Chappel of *Whitehall* to be kept in *Statu quo*; whither the Princess of *Denmark*

mark repaired daily, while the King did the same to the Queen's Private Chappel. In the interim, I was chosen a Member to sit in the ensuing Parliament for the City of *York*; and with this new Charge, I this Day sat forward for *London*; where being arrived, my Lord Marquis of *Halifax* told me he and Lord *Rocheſter*, the Treasurer, were now very well together; that he had used his constant Endeavours to ſerve the King, and that he would continue to do the ſame; but that he hoped his Maſteſty would not think of impoſing his Religion on him; which he ſeemed ſorrowfully to apprehend, the moſt conſiderable Poſts in the Army in *Ireland*, being now put into the Hands of Papiſts. His Lordſhip then recalled to me ſeveral Inſtances of the late King's Kindneſs to him, and certainly no Man was deeper in his Favour, when his Maſteſty was unfortunately ſnatched away, than my Lord Marquis. A few Days afterwards, I waited on his Maſteſty, kiſſed his Hand, and at the ſame time preſented him with an Addreſs from the young Men of the City of *York*, who had petitioned me for leave to exerciſe themſelves at Arms on certain Days of the Year, which the King received very kindly.

The next Day my Lord *Halifax* told me he had had two private Audiencies of the King, and that he had in ſuch plain Terms told him his Mind, upon the grand Point of Government, that he much wondered the King, conſidering his natural Temper, took it with that Calmneſs and Compoſure he did. His Lordſhip then obſerved, It poſſibly might be inſiſted on, that ſome Acts ſhould, in the ensuing Parliament, be repealed, which would require a weighty and mature Deliberation; and touched on ſome Things not altogether ſo fit to be inſerted in this Place.

The King was crowned and the Queen in *Westminſter-Abbey*, with all imaginable Pomp and Magnificence, except that there was no Cavalcade thorough the City, as the Cuſtom had formerly been.

Their Maſteſties went privately to the Palace at *Westminſter*, where they, the Nobility, and all the Officers of the Crown put on their Robes, Formalities, and Enſigns, and thence proceeded thorough *Palace-yard*, railed in and prepared for that Purpoſe, in Proceſſion

1685.

cession to *Westminster-Abbey*, whence, the Ceremony being completed, they all returned to the Hall, to a most sumptuous Dinner. And now the Gentlemen of the House of Commons began to consider what the Court might demand of them, as well as what might be granted at the approaching Session, the Parliament consisting of a great Number of Loyal Gentlemen, who were, nevertheless, good Patriots, and true Protestants. The Report went, that there would be more required in Behalf of Popery, than the Laws now in Force would allow of; and that the King expected the Settlement of a constant Revenue upon him, suitable to that of the late King, besides a Sum of ready Money to subvene his present Occasions. That in favour of Popery it would be proposed to repeal the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which I found was much opposed by some great ones, in their private Discourse, as well as by some of us; and to enact a general Toleration or Liberty of Conscience, which some seemed willing enough to subscribe to; tho' at the same time, the Resolution was to admit of no Alteration to capacitate Papists to enjoy any Place or Employment in or under the Government. As for the Affair of Money, Men in general seemed willing to settle an handsom Revenue upon the King, and to give him Money, but whether their Grant should be permanent or only temporary, and to be renewed from time to time by Parliament, that the Nation might be the oftner consulted, was the Question: In all this, I resolved punctually to do my Duty to the Crown, but not to be unmindful of a due Regard for my Country, and my Religion.

May 4.

I had some Discourse with Mr. *Hilliard*, Sir *Roger Martin*, and others, Gentlemen of great Consideration with the Popish Party: They told me, The King would expect a Repeal of the Sanguinary Laws; that the Papists should be allowed the private Exercise of their Religion, and that they, at least such as had served the Royal Family in the Wars or otherwise, should be capable of Employment under him: That the King would, in Parliament, give full Satisfaction to the Nation, with regard to their Religion and Properties; but that if Reason would not serve his purpose,

purpose, he knew what he had to do. That the King would never divide the regal Power by admitting of that of the Pope; that his Majesty was too fond of Power to be guilty of that oversight; and that his adhering to the Defence of the Church of *England*, would, on the other hand, deter the Pope from pressing him to admit of his Supremacy; in short, That it was but reasonable the King should insist on the Repeal of the severer penal Laws against the Papists; for that if he should die, he would leave them in as ill a plight as he found them: But what Wisdom or Sense there was in those who, at this time, could offer at such Arguments, need not be said. 1685.

I waited on the King in his Barge, from *Whitehall* to *Somerset-house*, where he went to visit the Queen Dowager: It was upon this Day, that the noted Doctor *Oates* was convicted of Perjury, it being proved, that he was at *St. Omers* the 24th of *April*, 1678, when he swore he was at the *White-horse Tavern* in the *Strand*, where *Pickering*, *Groves*, *Ireland*, and other Jesuits signed to the Death of King *Charles* the Second: This was a grateful hearing to the King, who thereupon observed, That, indeed, there had been a Meeting of the Jesuits that Day, and that all the Scholars of *St. Omers* knew of it, but that it was well Doctor *Oates* knew no better where it was to be; for, says his Majesty, they met in *St. James's* where I then lived, which if *Oates* had but known, he would have cut out a fine Spot of Work for me. The King then subjoined, That *Oates* being thus convicted, the Popish Plot was now dead; to which I answering, That it had been long since dead, and that now it would be buried; his Majesty so well approved of the Turn, that going with him afterwards to the Princess of *Denmark's*, I heard him repeat it to her. 8.

Three or four Days afterwards, we had advice, That a Store of Arms had been bought up in *Holland*, and conveyed into *Scotland*; and that Lord *Argyle*, Lord *Grey*, and some said the Duke of *Monmouth*, were actually gone with them, or after them.

Mean while, the Parliament assembled in the usual Apartments at *Westminster*, but did nothing this Day but take the Oaths, 19.

1685.

Oaths, and chuse their Speaker, Sir *John Trevor*, who was confirmed by the King: The two next Days were also taken up in swearing the Members, and taking the Test. On the Twenty-second, the King made a Speech to both Houses, and therein assured them, He would support and defend the Church of *England*, whose Members had ever been most Loyal in the Worst of Times, in the Cause of his Father, and the Support of his Brother; as also to adhere to the Government both in Church and State, as by Law Established; and that as he never would depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so neither would he attempt to invade any Man's Property. He desired of us suitable Returns in settling the Revenue on him for Life, as in the Days of the late King; and concluded with an Account he had received from *Scotland*, that the Earl of *Argyle* was landed with Men and Arms, on the Western Islands of that Kingdom; and that the said Lord had published two Declarations, in both of which he charged him with Tyranny and Usurpation.

The Commons returning to their House, immediately voted, That the King's Speech should be taken into speedy Consideration, and were so well pleased with The solemn Security the King had given them as to their Religion and Property, That they voted him the very same Revenue for his Life, as had been enjoyed by the late King for his. They then voted, That the King should, by the whole House in a Body, be thanked for his Speech, in which the Lords concurred, and it was accordingly done the next Day; when they farthermore voted an Address to his Majesty, assuring him, They would stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, against *Argyle*, his Abettors, and all other Traitors whatsoever; which being presented accordingly to the King, he was pleased to answer, That he expected no less from a Parliament so happily made up of Monarchical and Church-of-England-men, and that he should fear no Enemy he either had or might have, while he had them on his Side. And now all things seemed to smile with a very auspicious Countenance, the King forbearing the least Advances towards a Change of Religion, and seeming to be bent quite the contrary Way. In

In the midst of this, a Motion was made in the House, That something should now be done to please the People, after so much had been done to gratify the King; pointing at a proper security for the Protestant Religion; upon which a Debate arising, it was referred to the Committee of Religion. This Committee, the next Day, passed a Vote, That the House should be moved by them, To resolve to stand by the King, with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Defence of the Religion of the Church of *England*, as by Law Established: As also to present an Address to the King, to issue out his Royal Proclamation, for putting the Laws in Execution against all Dissenters of what Denomination soever; and these Votes, tho' in a very full Committee, passed *Nemine Contradicente*. 1685.
May 25.

But the next Day, when the same came to be reported to the House, a Debate took birth, Whether the House should concur with the Committee or not? Against the Question it was argued, That it was reminding the King of a Neglect of his Duty; that the Justices of Peace were in Fault that the Laws were not more duly executed; that Votes of this Sort would alarm the Kingdom, and might create a Jealousy of the King, who had so solemnly declared his Intentions to defend our Religion; that the King had told us, The Way to keep a good understanding between him and his Parliament, would be to use him well, and that he could not but take this amiss; and finally, That it might be an Encouragement to the Rebels already in Arms in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and so on. To this it was answered, that it would have but an indifferent Look with the Nation, If we being Members of the Church of *England*, should let such commendable Votes in Favour of our Religion drop unheeded: At length the previous Question being put, Whether to agree or not agree with the Committee, it was carried in the Negative. The whole Matter then was summed up in this Vote, That an Address should be made to the King, purporting That the House did entirely rely on his Royal Declaration, that he would defend and secure the Reformed Religion of the Church of *England*, as
Q by 27.

1685. by Law Eſtabliſhed, by far dearer and nearer to them than their Lives.

May 30. We had now Information, That *Argyle* had penetrated into his own Territories in the North of *Scotland*, with a Body of 3000 Men, and that he was fortifying himſelf there. The next Day, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed the Bill for the Continuance of the Revenue of Excife and Customs for his own Life. Having done this, he ſpoke to both Houſes, and thanked them for the chearfulneſs and alacrity wherewith they had paſſed the ſame; he ſaid, their Diſpatch was as pleaſing to him as the Bill itſelf; but at the ſame Time, deſired ſome extraordinary Supply for the Navy and Ordnance Stores, for paying off the late King's Debts to his Servants and Family, and for defraying the Charge he was like to be at in quelling the Rebellion in *Scotland*; he then recommended the Navy to us, as the Strength and Glory of the Nation; aſſured us he had a true *Engliſh* Heart, jealous of the Honour of the Nation; and that he pleaſed himſelf with the Thoughts, by God's Bleſſing, and their Aſſiſtance, to raiſe the Reputation of it in the World, higher than it had ever yet been in the Days of any of his Anceſtors.

June 11. This Speech being taken into Conſideration, it was, by a Committee of the whole Houſe, voted that a Supply ſhould be granted to his Maſteſty for the Uſes therein ſpecified. While Things were going on in this eaſy and harmonious Manner, we had News from *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*, That the Duke of *Monmouth* was landed in that Neighbourhood, with Arms for 20,000 Men, together with Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of about 200; that many of the People flocked in to him, from that factious Country, and that he had declared himſelf the Protector of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt Popery. With all ſpeed then the King ſent down the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Lord Lieutenant of that Part, to raiſe the Militia; and after him, ſome Companies of the ſtanding Foot, and fix Troops of Horſe and Dragoons. *Lyme* is naturally a ſafe and advantageous Poſt, and was in *Monmouth's* Power; ſo that in two or three Days more, we heard he was 300 ſtrong; but,

but, at the same time, that the Duke of *Albemarle* had raised the Militia, and was marching towards him with some 8000 Men. 1685.

The King no sooner heard that *Monmouth* was landed, as we have said, than he communicated the same to the Commons; upon which they immediately voted him their Thanks, and resolved, in a Body of the whole House, to wait on his Majesty with their own Address, wherein they promised to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, against that ungrateful Rebel *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, and all others whosoever they might be; such were the promising Beginnings of this Short and memorable Reign. Soon after comes *Monmouth's* Declaration, which the King the next Day sent to both Houses, who attended him that very Day, and voted a Reward of 5000 *l.* to any Body that should take him, and bring him to the King, dead or alive. This Declaration charged *James* Duke of *York*, for so it stiled the King, with the Burning of the City, the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, the Murder of *Sidney*, and Lord *Russell*, with the poisoning of the late King, and tearing his Crown from his Head: It charged him also with being a slave to Popish Councils, and with packing the present Parliament; and that therefore he was come to revenge all these things on the pretended King; that he would never hearken to any Terms, or Accommodation 'till his work was compleated, and that as he was resolved to give no Quarter to those that opposed him, he exhorted all good People to come in and assist him. To this he subjoined, that he had a just Title to the Crown, but that he would lay no claim to it 'till he had called a free Parliament, to whom he was ready to give full Satisfaction as to that Matter; that Parliaments should sit every Year, nor be dismissed 'till all Grievances were redressed, and that he would grant Liberty of Conscience to all Manner of People, not excluding even the Papists, and much more in the same Strain.

Mean while, came News that *Monmouth* having marched out of the Town of *Lyme* with 200 Foot, and 100 Horse, had met with some of the *Dorsetshire* Militia, fallen on them, killed several Persons of Note, and taken some Prisoners. And now an ad- June 17.

1683. ditional Supply is voted, for defraying the Expence of the War, against the Duke of *Monmouth*. The House upon this Occasion resolving itself into a Committee of the whole, to consider of the Ways and Means for raising this new Supply, voted That it should be levied upon such new Foundations, as had been built upon within the Compass of the Bills of Mortality, since the Year 1660, excepting the late general Fires in the City of *London* and Borough of *Southwark*. *Secondly*, That it should be levied only upon the Rents of the same Houses for the Term of one Year. *Thirdly*, upon such Foundations as were now laid. *Fourthly*, That there should be a Clause to prevent any more Buildings within the said Limits. *Fifthly*, That the House should be moved that a Bill might be brought in for that Intent; in all which the House concurred with the Committee.

June 18. The next Day the King sent to us, to desire we would give him Credit upon some Fund, for such a Sum as we should think fit to grant him, towards the Suppression of the Rebellion in the West; and that we would prepare our Business so as to be in a Condition to adjourn for some time, within a few Days. Upon this we resolved again into a Committee of the whole House, and voted him the Sum of 400,000 *l.* the Sum agreed on the Day before; and at the same time appointed a Committee to inquire into, and bring in an Estimate of the yearly Value of the Rents of the new Buildings upon new Foundations.

19. But notwithstanding all this, the Court seemed to be much concerned at the Increase of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Forces, which were now reported to consist of 4000 Foot, and four Troops of Horse, with which having marched towards *Taunton*, a populous and factious Town, he made himself Master thereof, two Regiments of the Militia running away, when they heard he was near the Place; but the Duke of *Albemarle* had still orders not to fight 'till the standing Troops had joined him, which it was supposed they would do upon the 20th Instant; on which Day also some 2500 of the Guards, Horse and Foot, marched to reinforce the Troops that had before been sent to the Duke of *Albemarle*

bemarle, commanded by Lord *Feverham*. The same Day, the Commons understanding it would be a tedious Task to levy the necessary Sums upon the new Foundations, proceeded to shift the Tax upon French Linen, Brandies, Callicoes, &c. 1685.

But I cannot help observing, that my Lord *Halifax* took it ill of me, That I had been so earnest for the taxing of the new Buildings, he having a deep concern therein; but I told him it was my Judgment, and that if my Father's Interest had been ever so much therein, I should have done the same Thing; that however, I was very sorry He, above all Men in the World, should disapprove of any Thing I did; but we presently understood each other, and he said he was very sorry he had said any Thing to disturb me: This, tho' a Transaction of quite a private Nature, I could not forbear the mention of, as it was the only Time we ever so much as seemed to differ; but to return to Matters of more general Importance.

June 22.

This Day, his Majesty had Advice from *Scotland*, that the Earl of *Dunbarton*, commander in chief of his Forces in that Kingdom, having Notice, that the Rebels had passed the River above *Dunbarton*, had marched from *Glasgow* to *Sterling*, and overtook them near the close of the Day, but that in the Night the Rebels stole away from him into *Renfrew*; that the said Earl then pursued them with his Horse and Dragoons, and understood that they were making away from him in very great Confusion; that the same Day three Servants belonging to a Gentleman of *Renfrew*, fell upon the Earl of *Argyle*, as he was getting away in the Disguise of a Countryman, with a blue Bonnet on his Head; and that they had wounded him in several Places of the Head, 'till at last, fearing they would kill him, he confessed himself to be the Earl of *Argyle*; and that thereupon they had taken him Prisoner, and conducted him to *Glasgow*, where he was committed. The King sent an Account of all this to the Commons, who returned their Thanks for the same, by such of their Members as were of the Privy Council, who came back with this Answer, That his Majesty was every Day more and more satisfied with them for their

1685. their Zeal and Loyalty to his Person and Government, and that he gave them his Thanks.

June 23. The next Day the King had Notice, that *Monmouth* had sent a Letter to the Duke of *Albemarle*, under the Stile and Title of his most trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, *Christopher Duke of Albemarle*, charging him upon his Allegiance to come in to his Aid and Assistance; in a Word, That he now took upon him to be King; that he was marched from *Taunton* towards *Bristol* with about 5000 Men and Boys, and that *Albemarle* was at his Heels.

24. The next Day I hapned to dine with Sir *James Smith*, the Lord Mayor of *London*, whom I had formerly known intimately well, and who was of a very Loyal Club in the City, where I used to go, while the Fanatic Plot was in Agitation. This Gentleman complained to me, That he enjoyed no more than the bare Title of Lord Mayor, the Lord chief Justice *Jefferies* usurping the Power; that the City had no Sort of intercourse with the King, but by the Intervention of that Lord; that whatever was well done in the City, was attributed to his Influence and Management; and that himself and the Aldermen were, by the Court, looked on as no better than his Tools: That upon all Occasions his Lordship was so forgetful of the high Dignity of the City as to use him and his Brethren with Contempt; in fine, that the Lord Chief Justice was to be pitied; that his haughtiness would be the Ruin of him; and that he actually intended to let the King into the Mystery of these Things; but that he thought the present Time was not altogether so proper, seeing a Remonstrance of this Tendency might be construed into Mutiny and Disaffection. I answered, That the King was too well acquainted with the Lord Mayor's Services and Integrity to suspect him of that, and that, in my Opinion, now was the fittest Time for exposing a Man in that Credit at Court; for that now the greatest Notice would be taken of all such Grievances. Indeed I was sorry at my Heart to see such good Men dissatisfied in any Degree; but I was as glad to find this proud Man seen through; for he had to my knowledge

knowledge used the City of *York* as scurvily as it was possible for him to use the City of *London*. For at *York* he put out five Aldermen tho' he had solemnly engaged to keep them in, and that, without so much as allowing them to be heard as to the Crimes they stood accused of. The Lord Mayor said the very same had been frequently practised in *London*, and that many had been turned out of their Employments without so much as being suffered to make their Defence. I short, I was at the very same Time told by one of the Lieutenancy of the City, That should the Duke of *Monmouth* give a Blow to the King's Forces, it was much to be feared there would be an Insurrection in *London*. 1685.

This Day, both Houses attended the King in the House of Lords, and his Majesty having passed five Bills, ordered the House to be adjourned to the 4th of *August*, which was done accordingly. And now the Fears of those who were Friends to the Government, added to the Hopes of those who were averse to it. The Duke of *Monmouth's* Army was swelled to a Body of 12000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, which moved from Place to Place, in the hilly and inclosed Country of the West, where tho' the King's Army kept pretty close in with them, they could not offer to give Battle. The King's Army, that was nearest to *Monmouth*, was commanded by Lord *Feverham*, and did not consist of above 3000 Foot, and 500 Horse, but then they were mostly of the Guards. In a Day or two the King had Advice, that *Monmouth* had got into *Bridgewater*, that he intended to fortifie himself there whilst he refreshed his Army, and that Lord *Feverham* was close after him. July.

The Duke of *Monmouth* being then informed, That Lord *Feverham* lay incamped at not above three Miles from *Bridgewater*, that his Army was as yet but small, but that he was in Expectation of being reinforced by three *English*, and three *Scotch* Regiments from *Holland*, and that a Body of Horse was on its March from *London* to the same Purpose; he steals out about One in the Morning, with his whole Army, and moves towards the Royal Camp, and that with such silence and good order, That the King's People 6.

1685. People knew nothing of the Approach 'till alarmed by the Fire of one of their out Sentries. The Duke of *Monmouth* marched at the Head of the Foot, and Lord *Grey* led up the Horse, and they brought their Cannon to play within Pistol shot. On the other Hand, our People got into order as fast, and received them as well as could be expected, but were so overpowered by Numbers, that 'till Lord *Grey* went off with the Horse, which were frightened at the Cannon, we were in very imminent Danger of losing the Day: But for the Duke of *Monmouth*, he stood 'till a great Part of his Foot was cut to Pieces, and then made off; but so narrowly that his Coat, his Papers, and his Secretary were taken. *Ferguson*, that Arch-presbyterian Priest and Rebel, was killed, and Lord *Grey* was taken in disguise, three Days afterwards.

The Duke of *Monmouth* had, from the very Beginning of this desperate Attempt, behaved with the Conduct of a great Captain, as was allowed even by the King, who, in my hearing, said he had not made one false Step. And thus was this great Storm which gathered from a small Cloud, the Number that landed with the Duke not exceeding 150, thus I say, was this great Storm fortunately not to say surprizingly allayed. Had *Monmouth* obtained a Victory, it was much to be feared, That the dissaffected would have risen in such Numbers, in the several Parts of *England*, as to have made the Crown precarious. But to complete the King's good Fortune, came News, That the Duke himself had been taken in Disguise in a Wood, by a Parcel of Country Fellows who were in quest of him, together with one Count *Horn*, who being first discovered in a Bush, told them the Duke himself was not far off; and the same Day the Duchess of *Monmouth* and her two Sons were sent to the Tower. The Duke, when he was taken, was almost spent, not having been in a Bed for three Weeks; he was quite unprovided with Arms, nor made any Defence, being destitute of every thing but a Watch he had in his Pocket, and about three hundred Pounds in Gold, which was all the Money he had left. His Majesty, and no wonder, was extremely well pleased at this News; but he was of a Temper so very

very equal, that he never appeared transported upon any Occasion; and surely he never could have a greater Reason for it than now, that he saw the Rebellion plucked up by the very Roots, and himself firmer seated on the Throne, by the Endeavours that had been used to shake him out of it.

When his Grace came to Town, the King, at his own Request, saw him at *Whitehall*, where he expressed some Detestation of his Attempt; threw the Blame on the Earl of *Argyle*, and *Ferguson*, who had stirred him up to it; disclaimed all Title to the Crown, and said he was put upon assuming the Stile of King, with a view that the Quality would the sooner come in to him; all this I heard the King say, but what he farther confessed, was not then known. He concluded with a Desire of Pardon, and, on his Knees, begged his Life of the King; and for the same, he, by Letters, solicited the two Queens, 'till his Head was at five Blows severed from his Body, on *Tower-hill*. When he came to suffer, he submitted with great Unconcern, renounced all Pretence to the Crown, and unkindly, to say no worse, disowned his Duchess, who to him, who had nothing of his own, had brought a Fortune of ten thousand Pounds a Year; saying she was given to him as his Wife in the Days of his Minority, but that the Wife of his own Choice, was the Lady *Henrietta Wentworth*, the only Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Cleveland*, whom he had debauched; with whom he confessed he had lived according to the Rules of his own Convenience, tho' not according to the Laws of the Land, for two Years past. He then said he was sorry for the Effusion of Blood he had caused, but, throughout his whole Discourse, made no mention of a Rebellion; and out of his Pocket were taken Books, in his own hand Writing, containing Charms or Spells to open the Doors of a Prison, to obviate the Danger of being wounded in Battle, together with Songs, and Prayers; such was the latter End of the Duke of *Monmouth*.

Towards the Close of this Month, *July*, I returned to my Government, where nothing occurring of a Nature general enough

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to

1685. to be worthy of public Notice, I shall hurry on to the End of *October*, when we had the bad News, That my Lord Marquis of *Halifax*, Lord President of the Privy Council, was fallen into Disgrace with the King, and quite dismissed from the Board; he had ever been a true and kind Patron to me; but what was more, he was a Man of great Integrity and most happy Talents, which made it feared the Public might feel the want of him as sensibly as his Friends; but it being the King's Pleasure, it became all good Subjects to submit to it: But two or three Days afterwards, being with the Archbishop of *York* and Sir *Henry Gooderick*, they told me, It was true the King had laid aside the Lord President, but that he had assigned no Cause for it; and expressed some Jealousy, That the King would offer at something this Session, in favour of Popery.

Nov. 9. And now the Term of the last Adjournment being elapsed, I repaired to *London*; where I found the House of Commons had deferred the Consideration of the King's Speech, on the Day of their Meeting, which was the 9th, to the 13th Instant. The House of Lords had voted their Thanks; but the Commons being moved to the same, made head against it, as we have hinted. The King in this Speech told the Houses He was glad to meet them in better times than when he parted with them; that the Rebellion was now perfectly quashed; but that, however, the Government might be in like Manner attempted for the future, it being experienced, that the Militia of the Kingdom was of no Use; that therefore as the Standing Force was but small, he had raised it to a more considerable Number, which would be an additional Charge upon him, for the time to come; that, in consideration thereof, he desired a proportionable Aid: That it was true There were some popish Officers in this Army, but that he hoped it would make no Difference between him and his Parliament; for that tho' they were not qualified by Law, they were such as had shewn their Principles by their Loyalty; and that having had Experience of this, he would not expose them to Shame by parting with them, or to that Effect; and that, in fine, he would venture his Life for the true Interest of the Nation. The

The 13th Instant being come, the Commons voted a Supply to his Majesty, for his present Occasions ; but would neither specify the *Quantum*, nor the particular Use it was designed for. Upon this a long Debate arose, and the Question being put, they divided, the No's being 250, and the Ay's 125. They afterwards, the same Day, came to a Division upon the Question, Whether that House should first proceed upon the Supply to the King, or upon the second Paragraph of his Majesty's Speech, concerning the popish Officers in the Army ; and it was carried for postponing the Supply, by one Voice only ; in which Division, the King was told That several of his Servants, and Officers of the Army, that were of the House, were against him. The next Day, I waited on the King to kiss his Hand, and immediately he asked me, When I came to Town ? I told him, the Night before : He said, He was sorry I had not been here sooner, for that if I had, he should not have lost the Day before, for one single Vote, which he said was hard, and the more so because it was owing to his own Officers ; which I took to be an oblique Piece of Admonition to me. This same Day, the second Part of the King's Speech was taken into Consideration, and the Result was, That an Address should be drawn up and presented to his Majesty, to represent to him, that the Reception of Popish Recusants into the Army was quite contrary to Law, and to desire that they might be removed from their Posts. A Committee was appointed for this Purpose, and likewise to frame a Bill for the indemnifying the said Officers, in Consideration that they had entered into the Service at a Time of such imminent Danger. Waiting this Day on Lord *Halifax*, he told me the Particulars of his Dismission : he said he might have continued with greater Advantages than ever, if he could but in Conscience have concurred in some Things which he saw in Embryo ; that the King parted with him with seeming Kindness, but would assign no Cause for it, and that he would name No-body into his Place. This Lord being generally esteemed a wise Man, and an excellent Subject, the Removal of him, especially in almost the infancy of a Parliament, was Matter

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Nov. 13.

14.

1685. of Astonishment to great Numbers, and injected a Fear, That a Change of Councils was in Consequence to ensue a Change of Councillors.

Nov. 19. Now the Debate, concerning the Aid to be granted to his Majesty came on. The Motion was at first for two hundred thousand Pounds, and then four hundred thousand Pounds, on the Part of the Country; while those of the Court insisted on Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds, for the Payment of the new raised Forces, for a Term of five Years to come. But the House would give no Ear to such an Application of the Money they might give, lest it should prove a Foundation for the Support of a Standing Army; they rather chose it should be given to the King to do with it as he would; and at length seven hundred thousand Pounds was proposed, and granted. In the Course of this Debate, the Usefulness of a Standing Army, especially 'till the Ferment of the Rebellion was quite settled, was much insisted on by the one Side; while the other exposed the Danger of it, the Insolence of the Soldiery, the ill Example they were of to the Country, and the heavy Burthen of Free Quarters: But there was a Compromise of all this, by the Houses declaring its Intention to make the Militia of more Use for the Time to come, and 'till then it was agreed on, as a Thing necessary, that the Army should be kept on Foot.

The Address against Popish Officers being prepared, was this Day read, and agreed to; but a Debate arose, Whether the Concurrence of the Lords should be desired or not: The Courtiers were against it, that the King might have the better Excuse not to comply with it, and the Country Gentlemen were, for that Reason, for enforcing it the more; and upon this Occasion I divided with the Country, but we lost it by some forty Voices. The next Day we considered of the Ways and Means for raising the seven hundred thousand Pounds we had granted, and the same Day we went in a Body, with our Address to the King, who had appointed that to be the Time for his receiving of it: But his Answer was, That he did not expect such an Address from such a House

a House of Commons, especially as he had so lately offered to our Consideration the great Advantages of an Union between him and us, the good Effects of which had been already experienced: " I had said he, Reason to hope the Reputation God has blessed me with in the World, might have created and confirmed in you, a greater Confidence of me, and of all I say to you: But how- ever you, on your Part, proceed, I, on mine, shall be steady to all the Promises I have made, and be very just to my Word given in every one of my Speeches; " this he uttered with great Warmth.

The House, the next Day, consulted on the Means to make the Militia of more effectual Service for the future, but the Debate was adjourned to the 21st Instant. At the same time it was moved by Mr. *Wharton*, eldest Son to the Lord *Wharton*, That a Day might be appointed for the Consideration of the King's Answer to our Address; which was seconded by Mr. *Cook*, of *Derbyshire*, a Gentleman of three thousand Pounds *per Annum*, who was so warm as, upon this Occasion, to say, *We were all Englishmen, and that he hoped we should not be frightened from our Duty, by a few high Words*: But the House resented this as an Expression of great Indecency, and, in great Anger, sending their Member to the Tower, deferred the Business *sine Die*.

The next Day, the Lords began to consider that Part of his Majesty's Speech, relating to Popish Officers, and grew very warm in their Debate, which was adjourned to the 23d Instant. The King hapned to be present, as he was generally constant in the House of Lords, and was much concerned at the Freedom which they said was used upon this Subject. And, in truth, it gave great Dissatisfaction, that the Law in this Point particularly, should be thus invaded and set at nought; and the very best of the King's Friends, as well as his Officers whether Civil or Military, except such as were popishly inclined, were strangely alarmed thereat, and expressed themselves with great Freedom whenever it hapned to be the Topic of their Discourse.

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Nov. 20.

In the midst of this, the King, in the usual State, comes and, by the Lord Chancellor, acquaints both Houses, That for certain weighty Reasons, his Majesty thought fit to prorogue this Parliament until the 10th of *February* next, and that it was prorogued accordingly. This gave Birth to many Conjectures: Some said the King had so good a Revenue, and was so good a Manager, that he had it in his Power to subsist both his Fleet, and his Army without more Money; and that therefore he would scarce have Occasion for any more Parliaments; that this seemed the more likely as he had, by this Prorogation, refused the Sum of seven hundred thousand Pounds, which the Commons were preparing to give him: While others believed the King would certainly meet us again, at the Term prefixed, and that, in the mean Time, he would find out some Expedient to satisfy the Houses as to the only Article they complained of, meaning the Affair of the Popish Officers; which though it was said, might be shrewdly doubted, seeing that some of the Gentlemen, who had signalized themselves for the Address, were forbidden the King's Presence, which was the Case of Mr. *Fox*, Paymaster to the Army, Lieutenant Colonel *Darcy*, Major *Webb*, and others we need not mention.

Dec. 2.

To pass over Lord *Brandon's* Trial and Condemnation, for the concern he had had with the Duke of *Monmouth*, we must now observe, That the Popish Party behaved with great Insolence; which was the more remarked, as the King of *France* was now in the Height of Persecuting his Protestant Subjects, who many of them fled as they could, poor and naked; being stripped of all they had. This so great and cruel an Instance of the Spirit that, for the most Part, possesses those of this delusive Persuasion, was now the Talk of all thinking People, who began to be of Opinion, that every thing just and lawful, ought to be done to obviate the Growth, and abate the present Pride of the Papists in our Dominions. But the King, as if he had a Mind to shew us his Disposition for Clemency, this Day declared he had reprieved the Lord *Brandon*, who was to have been executed three
Days

Days afterwards; which, it must be owned, was a great Act of Mercy in his Majesty, this Lord having been pardoned in the late Reign, for breaking a Boy's Neck, when he was in his Cups, of which being convicted, he was condemned as guilty of Murther. 1685.

At this time the Favourites at Court, began to be at Strife with each other; the Lord *Sunderland* was made President of the Council, and continued Secretary of State; his Lordship having artfully insinuated to the Queen (he had then a Misunderstanding with the Treasurer) That the Friends and Relations of the King's first Wife, as *Rocheſter*, *Clarendon*, *Dartmouth*, and others, were in greatest Favour, and in possession of the best Places, while her Friends, tho' she was Queen Consort, were but slenderly provided for; and her Friends being reckoned to be, Lord *Sunderland*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Churchill*, they began to play their private Batteries against each other.

I, for my Part, had seen so many Changes backwards and forwards, so many of both great and small removed and shifted about, that I must confess the Thoughts thereof began to damp the Flight of my Ambition; and made me conclude, There was a Time when every sober Man would chuse to retire, and be content with what he had, rather than venture his Substance and Conscience upon the uncertain Hazard of augmenting his Wealth; not that I found the King any way altered with regard to myself, or that I despaired of keeping my ground, tho' my great and good Friend was out; on the contrary, could I but have strained to the pitch some did, I am persuaded I had a fairer Opportunity of raising myself than ever I had; but I preferred a certain Safety to an uncertain Grandeur.

But Things now, with regard to those who enjoyed any Posts under the Government, seemed to be carried to a very extraordinary Length; for *Fox*, the Paymaster of the Army, whose employ was valued at ten thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and Colonel *John Darcy*, Grandchild and Heir to the Earl of *Holderneſs*, having offended the King by their Votes in the lower House, and
having

1685. having been thereupon forbidden the King's Presence, were now wholly laid aside; and it was now said that in Council it had been agreed, That all Persons, who for the future, offended in the same Way, should be served in the same Manner, which startled a Number of People. And now it was observed, that the Lord Treasurer was more lowly and obliging than usual, whence it was conjectured that the Odds were against him, and as much was confessed by some even of his Friends; his Lordship now setting up for the Protestant Interest, and the Queen and her Friends for the Popish.

Besides the Gentlemen I have already named, there were several other Members dismissed from their Employments, for not voting as the King expected they should, and particularly such as were Officers in the Army, who being not only so, but also great and very eminent for their Families and Services to the Crown, it was Matter of great wonder to every Body. But what surprised me as much as any Thing was to hear, from the Archbishop of *York*, That Lord Marquis of *Halifax* was coming again into play; an agreeable Surprise this, especially as the Times seemed to turn; but the very next Day, I had the Mortification to understand, from the Marquis's own Mouth, that there was no Manner of Foundation for the Report. The Duke of *Albemarle* now told me several Things concerning the State of Affairs, which astonished me very much. Gentlemen were now in a most unprecedented Manner assaulted in the very Streets; one had a Powder thrown into his Eyes, which deprived him of Sight; another had his Throat cut by two Men, tho' neither of these Gentlemen had given the least visible Provocation or Offence to the Aggressors; and the Duke of *Albemarle* was met by a Gentleman who threatned him as his Grace was going along in a Chair. And now it was whispered, That the King would still farther prorogue the Parliament 'till *May*; which certainly was the wisest Course he had, at this Time, to take, if he could not resolve to give some proper Satisfaction to the Houses, with regard to the Popish Officers; but that this was far from his Thoughts, and quite contrary to his

his Intention, appeared by a late Admiffion of feveral others of that Superftition into Military Pofts. In fhort, the King unhappily perfifting in his own way, difcharged his Anger againft the Bifhop of *London*, a moft worthy Prelate, Brother to the late Earl of *Northampton*, putting him away from the Council Board, on Account of a Speech he had, the laft Seflions, made in the Houfe of Lords, concerning the Popifh Officers; tho' as I was told, by the Archbishop of *York*, it was fpoken with all the Deference and Refpect imaginable. This decent Speech was by fome faid to be the caufe of his Lordfhip's Difmiffion; but others attributed it to his Induftry in keeping the Princefs of *Denmark* within the Pale of the Proteftant Church, in Oppofition to fome extraordinary Endeavours to get her over to that of the Church of *Rome*. 1685.

My Lord *Delamere* was, this Day, tryed by a particular Commiffion, directed to the Lord High Steward, and thirty other Peers. The Crime laid to his Charge was confpiring to raife a Rebellion, and to fubvert the Government, in Conjunction with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and other falfe Traitors, and fo on. I hapned to fit near the King during the whole Tryal; but the only pofitive Evidence againft his Lordfhip was one *Saxton*, an obfcure Fellow, who fwore that about the Time of the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing, he was recommended by the Lord *Brandon*, to the Lord *Delamere*, and difcourfed with him at his Houfe in *Cheshire*, upon the 4th of *June*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, and another Gentleman being prefent; that their Converfation was about Affiftance to be given to the faid Duke, and that his Lordfhip fhould fay, He was engaged to raife 10000 Men in his Caufe, but that he could not effect it fo foon as he had promifed, becaufe of a prefent want he was under of Money. What the other Witneffes had to alledge, was all Circumftance and Hearfay: Some faid the Duke of *Monmouth* had told them, He depended upon help from Lord *Macclesfield*, Lord *Brandon*, and Lord *Delamere*, and that they would be ready to rife in *Cheshire*, as foon as he landed: Others fwore that the Duke had written and fent Mef- Jan. 14.
fages to his Friends in *London*, to give Notice to the Lords to

1685. be ready, and that he was preparing for *England*. In the Course of this Tryal, a Point of Law never before heard of, was started, by the Lord High Steward, and the Solicitor General, namely, That tho' there were but one positive Evidence, in a Case of High Treason, if the rest, tho' but circumstantial, concurred therewith, it was sufficient to find a Prisoner guilty; for Example, supposing one Man should hear another say he intended to kill the King, upon such a Day, and that another swears he saw the Party lie in wait to prosecute his Intention, the Evidence is sufficient. But whatever there might be in this Law, it was by no Means applicable to the Prisoner; for he most convincingly disproved the main Evidence, *Saxton*, and, by the clearest Testimony, made it appear, That neither the two Gentlemen nor himself were upon the Spot upon the 4th of *June*; that two of them were then actually in *London*, and the other sixteen Miles off: He urged also, That if the Man had sworn nothing but truth against him, he could be no legal Witness, being himself a Prisoner, and taken in Rebellion, when *Monmouth* was routed, and consequently under a Temptation to swear against him, to save his own Life; upon the whole he was acquitted, every one of the Peers declaring him not guilty. There were those who condemned the Lawyers who had advised the King to bring a Peer to Tryal upon so slender a Foundation; while others observed, That as the King had committed him to Prison, it was but fit he should be brought to a public Tryal, lest it should be said he had been detained when nothing appeared against him. But when all was over, I plainly saw the King was in great Rage with *Saxton*, and the next Day he declared, He should be first convicted for Perjury, and then hanged for High Treason.

Jan. 18. A few Days afterwards, I dined with the Lord Chancellor, where the Lord Mayor of *London* was a Guest, and some other Gentlemen. His Lordship having, according to custom, drank deep at Dinner, called for one *Mountfort*, a Gentleman of his, who had been a Comedian, an excellent Mimic; and to divert the Company, as he was pleased to term it, he made him plead before him

him in a feigned Cause, during which he aped all the great Lawyers of the Age, in their tone of Voice, and in their Action and Gesture of Body, to the very great Ridicule not only of the Lawyers, but of the Law itself, which, to me, did not seem altogether so prudent in a Man of his lofty Station in the Law; diverting it certainly was, but prudent in the Lord High Chancellor, I shall never think it; but let us step to the King.

It was now known, That Mrs. *Sidley*, who had been the King's Mistress, and had several Children by him, when Duke of York, but whom he had deserted for a while when he came to the Crown, was as much in his favour as ever; for he created her Countess of *Dorchester*, and visited her frequently, which gave the Queen a great deal of Uneasiness; but there was no help for it; 'till at length her Majesty's Party and Priests did so importune the King, and so pressingly remonstrate to him the Sin of this Amour, and what was worse the Disparagement it would throw on their Religion, that it was reported he would abandon his Mistress, and that he had sent her Word, either to retire into *France*, or to expect to have her Pension of four thousand Pounds a Year withdrawn.

To resume the Lord Chancellor once again, he had now like to have died of a Fit of the Stone, which he virtuously brought upon himself by a furious Debauch of Wine, at Mr. Alderman *Duncomb's*; where he, the Lord Treasurer, and others drank themselves into that Height of Frenzy, that, among Friends, it was whispered They had stripped into their Shirts, and that, had not an Accident prevented them, They had got up on a Signpost, to drink the King's Health; which was the Subject of much Derision, to say no worse.

The Term, the Parliament was prorogued to, being expired, the Members of the House of Commons, and the Lords, met in their respective Places. The Commons that appeared were to the Number of about 150; and being summoned, by the Black Rod, to appear in the House of Lords, a Commission directed to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and others, empowering them,

1685. them, or any of them, to prorogue the Parliament 'till the 10th of *May* next, was read, and the Parliament was prorogued accordingly.

Though it could not be as yet said, That the King had made any notable Invasion on the Rights of the Church of *England*, he recurred to all the Methods he could contrive and practice for the Increase of his own; by putting more Papists into Office in this Kingdom, but especially in *Ireland*; by causing or at least allowing of Popish Books to be printed, and sold, and cried about publickly; by publishing some Popish Papers found in the late King's Closet; by a Declaration that his late Majesty died a Papist, and in what Manner; by an Account of the Conversion of the late Duchess of *York*, together with her Reasons for the same, as written by herself; by a Letter or Order to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to direct the Clergy of his Province to preach a good Life, but never to meddle with Controversies in their Sermons; by sending the Lord *Castlemain* upon a solemn Embassy to the Pope, and by much more of the same Nature and Tendency, which made it expected that more would infallibly follow.

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April 92.

Accordingly this Day, being the first of the Term, a great Change was made among the Judges in *Westminster-hall*: There was a new Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and another new Judge of the same Bench; there was a new Chief Baron; in fine, four new Judges of the several Courts. This made a considerable Noise, as the Gentlemen now displaced, were of great Learning and Loyalty, and whose only Crime had been, They would not give their Opinions, as several of their Brethren had done, That the King by his Prerogative might dispense with the Test required of Roman Catholics. The next Day I was informed by Mr. *Jones*, Son to the Chief Justice of that Name, lately turned out, that his Father, upon his Dismission, observed to the King, That he was by no Means sorry he was laid aside, old and worn out as he was in his Service, but concerned, That his Majesty should expect such a Construction of the Law from him,

him, as he could not honestly give ; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious Men would give their Judgment as he expected ; and that to this his Majesty made Answer, It was necessary his Judges should be all of one Mind. He told me farther, that Sir *Robert Sawyer*, the Attorney General, had been directed by the King, to draw up a Warrant, by virtue of his Prerogative, to invest a Priest of the Church of *Rome* with a Benefice, and to confirm one *Walker*, head of a House in *Oxford*, and some Fellows of the same, who had erred over to the papal Communion, by a *Non obstante* : That the Attorney said This would not be against one Statute only, but against all the Laws since the Days of *Elizabeth* ; that he therefore durst not do it, and desired the King to weigh the Matter a little with himself ; for that it struck at the very Root of the Protestant Church, quite contrary to his Majesty's late gracious Promises ; in short, that the Attorney farther said, He doubted not but as soon as another could be found to do the Work, he should lose his Place ; such a Slave was the King to the Priesthood of *Rome*. 1686.

But whatever the Attorney at present expected, the Solicitor *Finch*, was now turned out, and another, one *Powis*, appointed in his stead, who was ready and willing to do what the other refused, which was, to draw up a Warrant for confirming of *Walker*, in his Office of Head of *University College* in *Oxford*, and three Fellows of the same ; and another in Behalf of the Parson of *Putney*, which afterwards passed the Great Seal, tho' the Parties were Papists as strong as could be. And to complete, as it were, all, most of the Protestant Officers in the Army in *Ireland*, were removed and Papists substituted in their stead. May 5.

The Term of Prorogation being elapsed, it was by Commission continued to the 22d of *November* following. The King said this Morning, in his Bedchamber, That many of the Politicians of the House of Commons were come up, in fear he should surprize them with doing of Business, but that he would not do by them, as they had been wont to do with the Crown ; a very extraordinary Speech. But three Days afterwards, taking my Leave of Lord *Dover*, 10.

1686.

Dover, late *Henry Jermin* Esq; a Papist and great Favourite, he told me the Parliament would certainly meet at the time last limited, and that if they would not comply with the King, they were to look to the Issue. In short, the King having lately got him a Jesuit for his Confessor, drove on at a great Rate, and seemed by far more intent than before upon promoting and spreading his own Religion. In a Word, he was now resolved to protect those of his own implicit Faith at all adventures, a notable Instance of which was now exhibited in the Case of *Sir Edward Hales*, a profest Papist, to whom the King having given a Regiment of Foot, he was, this Term, sued upon the Statute, for five hundred Pounds, he keeping his Employment without the Qualification required. Upon which Occasion it was agreed by all the Judges, *Baron Street* excepted, That the King had a Power to dispense with all penal Statutes, and that his Majesty enjoying alone the Power, was the only Judge in the Case; and so *Sir Edward* pleading the King's Pardon, obtained the better of the Prosecution; an Event which gave great Surprise, and occasioned much Discourse the whole Kingdom over.

June 21.

Octo. 15.

Notwithstanding what had been so confidently assured me concerning the Sitting of Parliament, a Proclamation was at this time issued out for the still farther Prorogation of it from the 22d of *November* to the 14th of the *February* following. After this, the King continued his Course of displacing Protestants in favour of their Enemies the Papists, and I expected when it was to be my turn; for I had frequent alarms of that Sort; every Post brought us Account of Officers both Civil and Military deprived of Employment; of some who resigned their Commissions and Places; but the most general Accounts were of Persons actually discarded, and that Papists, were, for the most Part, put in to succeed them. Lord *Clarendon*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was recalled, and Mr. *Talbot*, a rigid *Irish* Papist, a little before created Earl of *Tyrconnel*, sent over in his Room; which made so dreadful an Impression upon many Protestants of that Kingdom, that they either left or sold their Estates, as they could,
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and came over into *England*. Mr. *Saville*, Vice-chamberlain to the King, and who had been of his Bedchamber when Duke of *York*, and since then Embassador in *France*, was put out of all Employment. 1686.

Leaving the public Affairs, for a while, at this untoward pass, *March 7.* I would venture to take Notice of a private Occurrence which made some Noise at *York*. The Assizes being there held, an old Woman was condemned for a Witch. Those who were more credulous in Points of this Nature than myself, conceived the Evidence to be very strong against her. The Boy she was said to have bewitched, fell down on a sudden, before all the Court, when he saw her, and would then as suddenly return to himself again, and very distinctly relate the several Injuries she had done him; But in all this it was observed, the Boy was free from any Distortion; that he did not foam at the Mouth, and that his Fits did not leave him gradually but all at once; so that, upon the whole, the Judge thought it proper to reprieve her; in which he seemed to act the Part of a Wise-Man. But tho' such is my own private Opinion, I cannot help continuing my Story: One of my Soldiers being upon Guard about Eleven in the Night, at the Gate of *Clifford Tower*, the very Night after the Witch was arraigned, he heard a great Noise at the Castle, and going to the Porch, he there saw a Scroll of Paper creep from under the Door, which as he imagined, by Moonshine, turned first into the Shape of a Monkey, and thence assumed the Form of a Turkey Cock, which passed to and fro by him. Surprised at this, he went to the Prison, and called the Under-keeper, who came and saw the Scroll dance up and down and creep under the Door, where there was scarce an Opening of the Thickness of an half Crown. This extraordinary Story I had from the Mouth of both the one and the other: And now leave it to be believed or disbelieved as the Reader may be inclined this way or that.

It is fit we observe, That the Way of dealing with Men, who proposed any Business to themselves in the Government, and especially the Members of both Houses of Parliament, that were
in

1686. in Possession of Places, and near the King, was thus : His Majesty took them aside, and told them The Test Act was made in the Height of Faction, not so much in prejudice to the Roman Catholics in general, as to himself in particular, and to obviate his rightful Accession ; that while that, and the Penal Laws remained in Force, no Soul of that Persuasion could be safe ; that it was against all municipal Law, for Free-born Subjects to be excluded the Service of their Prince, or for a Prince to be restrained from employing such Subjects as he thought for his Service ; and that therefore he hoped they would be so loyal as not to refuse him their Voices for annulling such unreasonable Laws. Every Man that persisted in a Refusal to comply with this Suggestion was sure to be outed.

The Time for the Meeting of the Parliament now drawing near, and several of the Members neglecting to repair to *London* ; the King ordered the Judges, in their several Circuits, to feel the Pulses of the Men ; in consequence of which I was, to my great surprise, accosted at *York* by the Judge, who told me, he had orders to talk with me upon the Subject. I asked him If his Majesty had made particular Mention of my Name ; to which replying, That he had only received a general Order from the King, to sound the Inclinations of the several Gentlemen who sat in Parliament, and that he had had a particular Instruction from the Chancellor only, as to myself by Name ; I desired time to consider of it, and the next Morning returned for Answer, That I perceived a Denial would be construed into Disloyalty ; That I had so lately waited on the King, and given such assurance of my Integrity, that I could not apprehend his Majesty could harbour any Doubt as to me, and the rather as he had not been pleased to make Use of my Name ; That I could not conceive myself obliged to declare myself to any body else : But that if his Majesty should think fit to say any thing to me farther than he had already, when I had the Honour of waiting on him next, which I intended should be speedily, I would so consult my Loyalty and my Conscience, as to give him all the Satisfaction in my power :
The

The Judge told me he would make Report of what I had said, and did not seem to be very forward in pressing a Compliance; he had his Orders, and he obeyed them. I deemed this to be the most prudent Reply I could at this time make; for had I answered in the Affirmative, I might have incurred the Displeasure and Censure of the greatest Part of the Nation; if in the Negative, I should have utterly disobliged the King; a Caution the more Necessary to be taken, as there was no likelihood there would be any Meeting of Parliament, to control him in his Conduct. However I believe that in all Cases of this Nature it is safest to unbosom ones self to the Prince in Person, and as much as possible avoid the Danger that may arise from the Treachery, the Prejudice, or the Ignorance of a Reporter.

In Consequence of this Examination of the Members, a Number of Vacancies ensued, and among others that were deprived, was *Herbert*, the Vice-Admiral of *England*, and Master of the Robes, he, in those Days, enjoying Places to the Value of three thousand Pounds a Year. The King having threatned, and put his threats in Execution, and also made Use of the most plausible Persuasions, to draw the Majority of Parliament into his own Way of Thinking, as to the Test and Penal Laws, and all to no sort of Purpose, cared not to see them assembled at the Time seemingly appointed; and therefore, this Day, declared in Council, That for divers weighty Considerations the Parliament stood prorogued to the 22d of the *November* following. His Majesty, upon the same Occasion declared, That it having been found impracticable to effect an Uniformity in Religion, tho' it had been the great Endeavour of four of his Predecessors successively, assisted as much as possible by their Parliament; and that such Attempts having been experienced to be highly prejudicial to the Kingdom, witness the Fatality of the Rebellion in his Father's time; He was now determined to issue out a Declaration, in Favour of all Sorts of Dissenters, that they might enjoy the free Practice of their own Religion: Hoping it might contribute to the general Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, the Increase of the

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People,

1686.

Mar. 18.

1686. People, and the Advancement of Trade. But whatever the Reasons alledged were, It appeared to most Men, that a deep Design was laid to sap the Foundations of the Church of *England*, nor could her Sons but dread some extraordinary Shocks; tho' some there were who apprehending no very extraordinary Consequence of these Machinations, believed such a Toleration might be of public Emolument, if considered in a political View; which was, by much the most specious Side of the Building, which shall close up this Year.

1787.
April 7.

At length the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience made its Appearance with us in the North; gilded over with the taking Pretence of Tendernefs, on the Part of his Majesty, towards all his Subjects whatsoever; containing an Invitation to all Strangers of every Sect to come among us; pretending a farther Improvement of our Trade, and promising Protection to the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of *England*, in their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, as also the free and undisturbed Exercise of their Religion in all their Churches. But all this was too well understood to be intended to divide the Protestant Churches, *Divide & Impera*, that so the Papists might with the more Ease possess themselves of the highest Place; which the Presbyterians or Calvinists, who had, most of them, began to conform, seemed to be well aware of; and therefore continued to resort to our Churches, tho' the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Independants thought it worth their while to return their Addresses of Thanks and Acknowledgment. Elated, seemingly, with this, the King goes on in his old Course of displacing Gentlemen that had Posts, but particularly such as were of the Parliament, and obstinate enough to withstand his Wishes; and now the Parliament being prorogued it was not thought worth the Trouble to inquire which way any Body stood inclined, so that the late Question concerning the Test and Penal Laws was dropped, or at least suspended. All this Inequality of Usage wrought but upon few Protestants either of Estate or Quality to change their Faith, little or not at all allured by the Baits thrown in their Way, or terrified by the King's Frowns

Frowns and implacable Displeasure : Honour therefore now was the grand Bulwark of our Religion, Gentlemen disdaining to have thought they could sacrifice the Sweets of Conscience to the mercenary Views of a Reward : In the midst of this, dies the Duke of *Buckingham*, a Man once of vast Estate, and oftentimes in high Favour with the late King, tho' never with the Present ; a Man of the most exquisite Wit of his time, the handsomest, and best bred ; but unfortunately given up to Pleasures, unsteady in his Ways, and, in all Respects, an Enemy to himself.

While Addresses of Thanks were every Day presented to the King, on the Part of the various Denominations of Dissenters, and from some even of the Church of *England* ; I had frequent alarms that the Papists were in a Way of persuading the King, to grant them the Mannor of *York*, as a Seminary for the Instructing of Youth in the Principles of their Faith ; and I this Day heard it was granted accordingly to one *Lawson*, a Priest, for a Term of thirty Years. Surprised at this, I wrote to the Lord *Bellasis*, the Principal Commissioner of the Treasury, remonstrating, That I had had it by my Commission of Governor, granted to myself by the late King, and confirmed by this ; that it was worth sixty Pounds a Years to me, and that it had cost me above two hundred Pounds in Repairs, since I had enjoyed it ; and that as I had been allowed nothing for this Expence, I desired it might be either continued to me, or that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant me such a Compensation in lieu thereof, and consider me in my Disbursement, in such manner and proportion as in his great Justice and Wisdom he should think fit. A few Days afterwards, a Proclamation came to hand, bearing Date the 2d of *July*, whereby the King dissolved the Parliament, and at once stunn'd the main Body of the Nation. The next Day, the Pope's Nuncio being to make his public Entry at *Windsor*, the Duke of *Somerset*, one of the Lords of the Bedchamber in waiting, refused attendance at that Solemnity ; for which he was forbid the Court, and deprived of all his Places ; the same fate befel five of the six Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, for the very

1687. self same Cause ; so that every Hour things looked worse and worse. A while after, I had a Letter from Lord *Feversham* to acquaint me that, according to my desire, he had spoken to the King concerning the Mannor of *York* ; but that he had found he had promised it to Father *Lawson*, for the Uses above specified ; that his Majesty told him, He did not know I lived in it, and that if I had been at any Charge in Repairs I should be considered for the same ; but added, for my present Comfort, That was I not so good a Man as he took me to be, he would not have kept a Governor at *York* so long as he had done : But I shortly after had another Letter from the same Lord, to tell me that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had so represented the Business to the King, at *Windsor*, that no positive Resolution was as yet taken.

In the midst of the impending Dangers which seemed to threaten us, there was a Nobleman, the Marquis of *Winchester*, who had by his Conduct persuaded some People to think him mad, tho' he certainly acted upon Principles of great human Prudence. This Gentleman passing through *Yorkshire*, in his way to *London*, I went to pay him a Visit. He had four Coaches and an hundred Horses in his Retinue, and staid ten Days at a House he borrowed in our Parts. His Custom was to dine at Six or seven in the Evening, and his Meal always lasted 'till Six or seven the next Morning ; during which he sometimes drank ; sometimes he listened to Musick ; sometimes he fell into Discourse ; sometimes he took Tobacco, and sometimes he ate his Victuals ; while the Company had free Choice to sit or rise, to go or come, to sleep or not. The Dishes and Bottles were all the Time before them on the Table ; and when it was Morning he would Hunt or Hawk, if the Weather was fair ; if not, he would Dance, go to Bed at Eleven, and repose himself 'till the Evening. Notwithstanding this Irregularity he was a Man of good Sense, and tho', as I just now said, some took him to be mad, it is certain his Meaning was to keep himself out of the Way of more serious Censure in these ticklish Days, and preserve his Estate, which he took great Care of. The

The President of *Magdalen College*, in *Oxford*, being dead, the King sent them his *Mandamus*, requiring them to chuse the Bishop of that City in his stead; but they answered *Locus plenus est*. The King taking *Oxford* in his Progress, and the Master and Fellows of that College waiting on him, He told them the People of the Church of *England*, had used him ill, that they had behaved neither as Gentlemen or good Subjects, and ordered them to go presently back to their Election and chuse the Bishop, or he would let them feel how heavy a Hand a King had. They went, but returned this Answer, That they were sorry they should be so unfortunate as to fall under his Majesty's Displeasure; but that they could not proceed to a new Choice without actual Commission of wilful Perjury, and thereupon hoped he would excuse them. Now, in this Progress, it was an Observation generally made, That the King courted the Dissenters, and discountenanced the Church of *England*: For the Papists being by no Means a Body of themselves numerous enough to cope with the national Church, he thought to strengthen them by a Junction with the Dissenters, whom he blinded with his Liberty of Conscience, and with telling them that he desired a Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, for their Ease and Security, as much as in Behalf of the Papists.

A strange Look it had, That the very People, who had been lately so indefatigably busy to divest him of his Right, and even to deprive him of Life, it having been, in one Parliament, attempted to impeach him of High Treason, upon the Statute against a Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, I say it looked strange, that these very Men should be preferred to those who had so often preserved him out of their Hands, not in Parliament only, but in the Field also; but it seems all Considerations are of no worth or validity with a hearty Zeal for the Priesthood of *Rome*, and that Oblivion is so far from being Ingratitude, that it is highly to be commended, a most salutary Expedient, when for the Advantage of Mother Church.

In

1687.
Sept. 28.

In pursuance of this very ill Doctrine, the King puts out several Aldermen, who had ever signalized themselves by their Fidelity and Loyalty, who had adhered to him with the greatest Constancy in the very worst of Times, and what is worse, they were Aldermen of the City of *London*; they were Members of the Church of *England*, and Nonconformists filled their Places. Doctor *Hough*, President of *Magdalen College*, is now put out, by certain Visitors appointed by the King for that Purpose, for that he was elected by the Statutes, in Contradiction to the King's *Mandamus*; but the Doctor stoutly refused to quit, 'till compelled by Force, and then appealed from the Visitors to the King in *Westminster-Hall*,

Nov. 5.

At this time it was my turn to feel a Part of the Storm which had hitherto blown over me, or at some distance on each Side from me. I received a Letter from Father *Lawson*, the Priest I formerly mentioned, to give me Notice, That the King having made him a Grant of his House, the Mannor of *St. Mary's* in *York*, for the Honour of God and the good of his People, he expected from my usual Civility, that I would give him free and easy Possession. To which I answered, that I held it by Virtue of a Commission that constituted me Governor of *York*; that he could not think I would divest myself of it by my own Act and Deed; that I had too great a Veneration for the King's Bounty, and was too Proud of his Service to do that; but that if his Majesty positively commanded it, I should have nothing to do but to obey; with this reserve however, That if his Majesty gave it away, I hoped, and in Justice it was a Duty incumbent on him to endeavour it, I was to have some Equivalent for the Loss. Several Letters passed between us, 'till at length the Earl of *Feverham* sent me word, that it was actually granted; while *Lawson* flattered me with Expectations that the King would consider me one way or other, and informed me of several kind Things his Majesty should say of me.

Dec. 7.

At length Father *Lawson* comes in Person, and claims Possession, it being in vain to contest with him, I ordered my House-

House-keeper to give him Admittance ; but he left it again for the present, 'till I could move my Goods. The clear Profits of this Place to me, besides the Use of the House for myself and Friends, and Grass and Hay for my Horses while I staid in Town, amounted to about forty Pounds a Year. After this, I expected the rest would soon follow ; for the King had caused or ordered the Lord Lieutenants of most, if not all, of the Counties in *England*, to call together their Deputies and the Justices of the Peace, and ask them these three Questions (1). If in Case the King should call a Parliament, and they should be chosen Members of it, Whether or no they would Vote to take way the Test and Penal Laws. (2). Whether or no they would give their Vote for such Members as they believed would be for the Repeal of the same. (3). Whether or no they would live peaceably, and as Christians ought to live, with such as differed from them in Religion. Some Lord Lieutenants who refused to comply with this Order, were turned out to give place to Papists, and the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace who did not return a satisfactory Answer, were for the most Part divested of Office.

This certainly was pushing the Point by much too far, nor could Men forbear wondring to what Purpose it could be meant ; for what Answer could any Gentleman pretend to give 'till he had heard the Reasons and Debates of the House ? And who could pretend to answer for the Man he voted to be a Member ; or pretend to be sure of what Sort of a Mind he would be when he got to his Seat in the House ? If the general Inclination had been to deceive the King, how easy was it for Men to express themselves one way and resolve another ? Besides it was striking at the very Foundation of Parliaments, thus to pre-engage the Members, who according as things, upon their Meeting, appear to them, are by the Laws of the Land allowed Freedom of Speech, and Freedom of Judgment. But the most general Answer, that was returned by the Protestants of the Church of *England* was, That they, if of the House, would so Vote as the Reasons of the Debate should prevail with them ; that they would Vote for
such

1687.

such as they thought would do the same ; and that they would live quietly with all Men as good Christians and Loyal Subjects. About this time there were great Removes of Officers, Civil and Military, and most Corporations were purged of their Church of *England* Aldermen, and Papists or Dissenters appointed to succeed them. The King, however, soon after seemingly abated of the rigor of this Scrutiny, tho' the Lord Lieutenants continued the Inquiry in most Counties, but with very little Success.

While this was transacting in *England*, the *French* King was engaged in a high Dispute with his Holiness of *Rome*, concerning the Immunities and Franchises of Ambassadors in that City, which tho' all the Princes of the Catholic Religion submitted to the Regulation of, the King of *France* would not. His Ambassador, who would have demanded the antient Rights, was denyed audience, and persisting in the Thing was declared excommunicated ; the Cardinals were forbidden to visit him as an Ambassador ; and the Church of *St. Lewis*, reputed the parochial Church of the *French* Nation, whither the Ambassador and his Retinue repaired to the midnight Mass of *Christmas*, was interdicted, for admitting him to partake of the Devotions of the Season. Upon Notice of this, the Parliament of *Paris* was assembled, and the Attorney General drew up an Appeal from *Rome* to the next General Council, setting forth that the Pope had no just Claim to Infallibility ; that he had no Power to excommunicate Princes ; that his priestly Authority was of no weight in Temporals ; and that the Power of the Keys was abused when subservient to evil Ends. That his Holiness had not only in this acted Contradictorily to his Character as Vicar, but also in refusing Bulls to such as his Majesty had nominated and recommended to the vacant Bishoprics in his own Kingdom, for no Reason but because they would not acknowledge him to be Infallible, or as the *Italian* Doctors call him *Universal Monarch* ; that by this Means there were no fewer than thirty Vacancies unsupplied at this Day ; and That the Pope's obstinacy ought to be controled, as the Custom had formerly been with the Church, by OEcumenic, or
National

National Councils. After this, and much more, the Attorney withdrew, and was by the Parliament admitted as an Appellant in the Case; the Pope's Bull was at the same Time declared void; it was forbidden to disperse it within any Part of the Kingdom, and ordered that the King should be humbly entreated to exert his Authority as to the Immunities and Franchises of his Ambassador at *Rome*; and to call such Councils, or Assemblies of great Men, as might apply a Remedy to the Disorders that had arisen from the long Vacancies of Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, and lastly, that he would prohibit all Commerce with the Court of *Rome*, nor suffer any Money to be sent thither.

This was a strange sort of a Scene to us in *England*. It was thought we were most inseparably linked together with our neighbour Kingdom; but while the one is abjectly endeavouring to crouch to the Lash, the other is seemingly resolved to slip her Neck out of the Collar. But now a Proclamation is heard requiring public Thanksgiving to be made for that our Queen found herself quick with Child. The Joy on Account of this News, if it created any to speak of, was continually interrupted by some violent or unequal Act or other, on the Part of the King; among the rest the Earl of *Oxford*, the first of his Dignity in the Realm tho' low in Fortune, being commanded to use his Interest in his Lieutenancy for the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test; and making Answer, in plain Terms, that he could not persuade others to that, which in his own Conscience he was averse to, the King took his Regiment of Horse from him, and gave it to the Duke of *Berwick*. Some time afterwards, the Earl of *Burlington* resigned his Commission for the Lord Lieutenancy of the West-Riding of *York*, into the Hands of the King, who immediately gave it to Lord *Thomas Howard*, only Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, a warm and zealous Papist, pursuant to the Method his Majesty had hitherto tenaciously observed with regard to most of the Lieutenancies that became vacant in *England*.

1688. The West-Riding of *Yorkshire* had not been examined as to
April 24. the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws ; and now at the General
 Quarter Sessions at *Pomfret*, the Popish Justices, in Number six,
 and Sir *John Bointon*, the King's Serjeant, who, as I presume,
 aspired to be a Judge, moved that an Address of Thanks might
 be signed and presented to his Majesty for his late Indulgence as
 to Matters of Conscience, and that not only by all the Justices,
 but by the two grand Juries : But none of the Justices except the
 six above and one Mr. *Bull*, nor either of the Grand Juries would
 set their Hands to this Address ; so that the Roman Catholics
 sent it up, signed by themselves, as the Act of the whole Ses-
 sions. By such Tricks and Artifices as these was the King de-
 ceived in the Opinion his Subjects had of his late Indulgence ;
 three or four Men, in several Places as well as this, pretending
 to speak and answer for the whole Corporation, or County.

May 7. A few Days afterwards, a Roman Catholic Justice told me the
 King was now convinced, that he had been ill advised in pushing
 the Question concerning the Repeal of the Test ; that he intended
 to put out some Justices and admit others, tho' not by that
 Method, but by informing himself, from such as he knew to be
 true to his Service, how they stood affected as to Liberty of Con-
 science ; and that he had particular Orders from the Lord *Thomas*
Howard, who had the same from the King, to advise first with
 me upon that Subject. I told him that the Method lately taken
 had most assuredly been of no advantage to his Majesty, most of
 the principal and powerful Gentlemen, in every County, having
 been thereby thrust out of Employment : But that this new Me-
 thod would be attended with as great Difficulties, and be sub-
 ject to the same Fallacy, it being impossible for one Man to pry
 into the Recesses of another Man's Heart ; nay, that it was even
 a hard Matter for a Man to promise for himself. For according
 to the Supposition, he was to be either in Parliament, or out of
 it ; If he himself should be elected, he could not honestly pro-
 mise which way he should vote 'till he came to his Seat, and
 heard the Debates ; and that if he was not elected, it would be
 quite

1688.

quite impossible in any Degree to answer for the Man he should chuse for his Representative ; that I believed most Men thought a Liberty of Conscience might be of Use and Advantage to the Nation, if settled upon a proper Foundation, and with true regard to the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *England*. To this he replied, that the King had openly declared the Church of *England* should have any reasonable Equivalent she could desire for her Security, provided an Act might pass for the Liberty of Conscience ; and told me we should meet and talk farther upon this Head, which for the present I evaded as much as possible ; I cared not to explain myself quite, having no Inclination to expose myself any farther than was barely needful, or to give Characters of other Men.

Having at two several Times obtained leave to repair to *London*, I there found Affairs to stand much in the Posture I expected. The popish Party was very urgent with the King to press the Repeal of the Laws against them, and the other as obstinate and headstrong against it ; and what brought the Dispute to a still greater Degree of Warmth, was owing to what follows : His Majesty had lately renewed his Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience, and given order to the Bishops, to cause it be read in the Churches of their respective Dioceses. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Order, remonstrated against this ; setting forth, in a Petition they presented to the King, That they could not pay his Majesty Obedience in what he was pleased to require of them ; that no Bishop, or Minister of the Church of *England* could assent to the Proclamation, which must of course be implied by their reading it or causing it to be read ; that a Declaration of the same Nature, on the Part of the King, had been in Parliament condemned twice in the late Reign ; that therefore they might be liable to be called to an Account hereafter, for doing what had been adjudged contrary to Law ; that tho' the King of himself could do no wrong, his Ministers or Agents were responsible for whatever was done infractory of the Law ; that tho' his Majesty had been pleased to declare a

May.

1688. Liberty of Conscience, it was nevertheless the Duty of the Clergy, as much as in them lay, to persuade Men into an adherence to their Communion; that for them to publish the King's Pleasure, in the Manner required, would be the same as if they told the People They needed not come to Church except they pleased; and that by the same Rule he might command them to read Mass in their Churches, and be bound to obey: These and many other Arguments, were, upon this Occasion, offered by the Bishops; at which the King conceived so violent a Displeasure, that they were commanded to appear in Council before him, on the eighth of *June*.

June 1. In the mean time I kissed the King's Hand, and met with a gracious Reception: I was honoured with a Visit from the Marquis of *Halifax*, who expressed himself pretty well inclined for Liberty of Conscience, but averse to the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws all at once, tho' he was seemingly not unwilling it should be done gradually, and upon wise and weighty Considerations.

8. And now seven of the Bishops made their Appearance before the King in Council, where they were commanded to enter into Recognizances of five hundred Pounds a Man, to answer to an Information to be brought against them the next Term, for Disobedience to the King's Orders. This they refused to do, saying they were not to engage themselves under any Security of the Kind, 'till the Information or Indictment was found, and that by so doing they should not only run Counter to the Law, but betray the Liberty of the Peerage; upon which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and his six Brethren, were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*, a Severity most deeply resented by the whole Church. Being then at *Whitehall*, I saw the Bishops going to take Water for the *Tower*: They all looked very chearfully, and the Bishop of *Chichester*, in particular, called to me, and asked me how I did. The next Day the Lord *Huntington*, one of the Privy Council, told me, That had the King known how far the Thing would have gone, he had never laid the Injunction he did, to have the Declaration read in Churches. In

In the midst of this Ferment, this Day, being *Trinity Sunday*,^{1688.}
 about four Minutes before Ten in the Morning, the Queen was ^{June 10.}
 delivered of a Prince, to the great Joy of the Court. But as im-
 portant as this Event might seem to be, little Notice may be said
 to have been taken of it. The Imprisonment of the Bishops was
 now uppermost in the Minds of most of the People, who flocked to
 them in such Numbers, for their Blessing, and to condole their hard
 Usage, that great and very extraordinary Remarks were made
 both of Persons and Behaviour. Among the rest, ten Noncon-
 formist Ministers went to pay them a Visit, which the King took
 so heinously, that he sent for four of them to reprimand them;
 but their Answer was, That they could not but adhere to the
 Prisoners, as Men constant and firm to the Protestant Faith, or to
 that Purpose. Nay, what is more extraordinary, the very Soldiers
 that kept Guard in the *Tower*, would frequently drink good
 Health to the Bishops; which being understood by Sir *Edward*
Hales, Constable of the *Tower*, He sent Orders to the Captain of
 the Guard, to see it was done no more; but the Answer he re-
 ceived was, That they were doing it at the very Instant, and
 would drink that, and no other Health, while the Bishops were
 there.

At length the first Day of the Term came about, when the Arch-^{June 15.}
 bishop and the rest moving for their *Habeas Corpus*, twenty-one
 of the very Prime of the Nobility appeared at the King's Bench
 to bail them, and they were bailed accordingly. Upon this Oc-
 casion, the *Hall* and *Palace-yards* were crouded with thousands
 of People, who begging their Blessing as they passed, the Arch-
 bishop freely gave it, and as freely, at the same time, exhorted
 them to be constant to their Religion. A fortnight afterwards,^{29.}
 an Information was exhibited against their Lordships, in the King's
 Bench, for that they had framed and published a seditious Libel;
 of which the Jury would not find them guilty. The Council for
 the Bishops, the ablest of their Profession in all *England*, pro-
 duced such Arguments in their Behalf, that the Judges were di-
 vided, two of them declaring that the Proofs did not extend to
 the

1688.

the making their Petition or Address a Libel, and two of them that they did, which cost the two former their Seats on the Bench, as soon as the Term was over. In the Course of this Tryal, the Power of the King to dispense with the Laws, that grand Point, was most exquisitely discussed by the Bishops Council, who were so much an overmatch for the King's, that at Court it was most heartily wished this Business had never been pushed to such a Crisis. *Westminster-hall*, the *Palace-yards*, and all the Streets about, were thronged with an infinite People, whose loud Shouts and joyful Acclamations upon hearing the Bishops were acquitted, were a very Rebellion in Noise, tho' very far from so either in Fact or Intention. Bonfires were made, not only in the City of *London*, but in most Towns in *England*, as soon as the News reached them; tho' there were strict and general Orders given out to prevent all such doings; and the Clergy preached more loudly, and more freely than ever against the Errors of the Latin Church. The next Day I waited on the King to the Camp on *Hounslow-beath*, where every Body observed him to labour under a very great Disturbance of Mind; but he spoke very kindly to me as I rode by him, upon several Occasions.

July 12.

I was present, as a Justice, at the General Sessions held for the Liberty of *Westminster*, and some Days afterwards, at the same held for the County of *Middlesex*, at *Hicks's Hall*, where I found such a strange Revolution among the Justices of the Peace, so many Papists and Fanatics put into the Commission, that I neither sought Business, nor chose to mix with them. At this last Place there were several indicted as Rioters, for that they had been concerned in making of Bonfires, or contributed thereto; but the Grand Jury would find no Bill, tho' they were sent out no less than three Times; so generally did the Love of the Bishops and the Protestant Cause prevail. And now my Lord *Halifax*, advised me to consider with myself, Whether as Affairs stood, it were prudent to continue in my Employments: I answered, I had great Obligations to the King, and would serve him as well as I could, whilst he would allow me that Honour, without concerning himself with my Religion. Lord

Lord *Sunderland* who had been long suspected for a Papist now openly declared himself of that Communion, with the usual Ceremonies, in the King's Chappel; and ten or eleven Days afterwards, the King went down to the *Thames's* Mouth, as pretended, only to take a View of the Fleet; but the real Cause was to appease the Seamen, who were ready to mutiny, on Account of some of their Captains, who had publickly celebrated Mass in their Ships. The King flattered them all he could; went from Ship to Ship; called them his Children; said he had nothing to do with their Religion, and that he granted Liberty of Conscience to all; but that he expected they would behave like Men of Honour and Courage when there should be Occasion for their Service; tho' they were so far gratified that all the Priests were ordered on Shore. Admiral *Herbert*, an able Seaman, whom the King had discarded from several great Posts, because he would not promise to vote for the Repeal, went privately away to *Holland*, where he was made Rear-Admiral; which raised Anger in the King, and the rather, as a great many Seamen went after him.

1688.

July 13.

Sometime afterwards, the Duke of *Norfolk* came to visit me in *London*; with whom discoursing upon the present Situation of the Kingdom, I found him a very firm and steady Protestant, to which he had been converted in the late Reign, and by no Means satisfied with the Court. Some Days afterwards, carrying my Wife and Daughter to *Windsor*, to wait on the Queen; I perceived the Court to be under some Consternation, and the King in an ill Humour, tho' he was of an Equanimity which made it difficult to discover, at the News that the *Dutch* had fitted out a large Fleet as designed against us; and that the *French* and *Dutch* were on the Brink of a Rupture, and would each of them press us soon to know which Side we would take. This, considering the Jealousies we were under on Account of Religion, the violent Discontents about the Army, and the ill Time of the Day it was to call a Parliament for fresh Supplies of Money, did very justly and reasonably disquiet the Court. And

August.

now

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now the first thing the King did, was to declare He would call a Parliament, to meet the 27th of *November* following, protesting in Council, that he was moved thereto more for the Good and Satisfaction of the Nation, than for any Apprehension he was under of the *Dutch* Armament. However, he commanded all Officers in general to their Posts, and drew the Forces out of other Garrisons and Places to man the Sea Ports.

Aug. 28.

Designing for *York*, I took Leave of his Majesty, but with terrible Apprehensions that he would put the same Question to me he had to others, concerning the Repeal; but he said nothing at all of it, only enjoined me to stand a Candidate, for the next Parliament, at *York*, which I would gladly have been excused, but it could not be; and so he wished me a good Journey. Just at this time I had News, that the Question had been put, the Week before, to all our Justices of the West-Riding, and that they had all answered in the Negative; so that I could not but think I had a lucky escape.

I sent Notice to the Mayor and others of *York*, that I intended to stand for one of their Representatives, at the ensuing Election, and found the Magistracy would be for the most Part against me, tho' I had good Encouragement from the other Citizens. The Truth is, I was at some loss to know how to act in this Matter; I was not desirous to be of this Parliament, not only because I was grown infirm and almost unfit to attend the Duty of the House, but also because I was afraid the King would expect more from me than my Conscience would extend to; for as I was determined not to violate this on the one Side, so I could hardly resolve to offend so good a Master on the other. In these straits, I went to the King at *Windsor*, and shewed him the Letters I had sent to *York*, and the Answers I had received thereto; desiring his Majesty to indulge me with Replies to three Queries I had to make. (1.) Whether, seeing the Contest was like to be both chargeable and difficult, and the Success extremely doubtful, it was his Pleasure I should stand? He replied positively, I should. (2.) Whether, as the Opposition was very strong against me,

me he would impute it to my Remissness if I miscarried? He promised he would not. (3.) Whether he would assist me all he could to prevent my being baffled, and particularly by such Means as I should propose to him? His Answer was, Yes; and he gave immediate Orders to the Lords for purging of Corporations, to make whatever Change or Alteration I desired in the City of *York*, and to put in or out, which the King it seems had reserved to himself by the last Charter, just as I pleased. But I was careful of what I did in this Regard: I considered that if I put out none, it would look as if I had no Power, and debase me into Contempt; and that if I displaced too many, it might exasperate the City against me, make them believe I was too deep in the Court Interest, and prevent my Success on the other Hand; I therefore only desired that the Lord Mayor might be dismissed his Office, and Sir ----- *Thompson* appointed in his stead, which would prevent his being a Member of Parliament; and that two, Mr. *Edward Tomson* and Mr. *Ramsden*, who were my principal Friends in the former Election of me for *York*, and were afterwards turned out partly on my Account, might be restored as Aldermen. Then taking leave of the King, and presenting him with some *Roman* Medals, which he took very kindly, he again charged me to do what I could to be chosen.

I afterward desired Mr. *Brent*, the Agent for Corporation Matters, that if he had the Power, I might with some others I should name, be added to the Bench of Justices in that City, by a Writ of Assistance, which he promised me should be done. To leave this Affair for the present, there had at this Time been fifty *Irishmen* and Papists sent for from *Ireland*, by the Duke of *Berwick*, in order to be incorporated into his Regiment. Every Captain was to have some; but Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, and five Captains more, who were all that were then on the Spot, in Quarters at *Portsmouth*, refused to take a Man of them, saying their Companies were complete, and that they were not to part with good Soldiers and *Englishmen*, to make Room for such as were inferior to them and Foreigners; desiring they might

1688.

chuse their own Men, or throw up their Commissions. The Duke of *Berwick* took great Offence at this, and sending an Account of it to the King, he dispatched twenty Horse to bring them up in Custody to *Windsor* Castle, where they were to be tryed by a Council of War; and they were brought up accordingly. I spoke to them just as they arrived, and found they were all resolved to stand it out; but they told me the Duke had not offered a Man of the *Irish* to my Company, then in his Grace's Regiment, which was very kind of him on his Part, and a miraculous Escape on mine.

Mean while, the Prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch* Ambassador had lately given the King Assurances that their Preparations were not against us; but his Majesty, as if he made a Doubt of it, ordered great Things towards a Fleet for the Spring; and I was positively told, by one, that he had actually Twenty five hundred thousand Pounds in his Coffers.

Aug. 10.

This Day a Council of War sat upon Colonel *Beaumont*, and the five Captains, and they were all cashiered, tho' with Reluctance on the Part of the King, who seemed to dread the Consequences of it: They were offered Forgiveness if they would but accept of the Men, but they all refused it; which caused a great and general Discontent throughout the Army, and particularly in that Regiment, most of which soon after quitted. The same Day Sir *Walter Vavasor*, and Mr. *Middleton*, came up to make Report to the King of the Answers they had received from the *Westriding* and the Corporations, to the Queries they had put to them; in which I found the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *York* were so faulty, that they would out of Course, and that I needed not give my self the Trouble of getting them removed, and more remarkably my greatest Opposers; so I left them to their Stars, and only insisted on the Commission of Assistance for my self and Friends I should name; but every Post brought me new Fears I should not be chosen at *York*, tho' several Alterations and Restrictions from popular Elections to a Mayor and twelve Aldermen, whom the King appointed as he pleased, were now made by new Charters, for

for the more certain Election of such Members as might be to the King's good Liking. And now Lord *Halifax*, when I took Leave of him, which was this Day, advised me not to be too much in earnest with my Election; at least not to make too free a Use of the Court Assistance, for many Reasons he then offered to my Consideration. 1688.
Aug. 16.

A few Days afterwards, I sat out for *Yorkshire*, and being at my Seat in the Country, I received Advice that my Interest at *York* was much lessened by my Absence; and what was still worse, that Lord *Montgomery's* Company, being ordered to march from that City, his Lordship would, if I did not come speedily, be obliged to deliver up the Keys into the Hands of the Lord Mayor; I therefore immediately posted away and received the Keys, and the Company marched. I represented it to the King as a great Inconvenience that there should not be so much as one Company in Garrison at *York*, and desired to know what I was to do with the Keys; to the first of which his Majesty answered, That upon more mature Deliberation he had recalled the Company, and that as to the Second, I might dispose of the Keys as I saw proper. Off. 1.

I desired the Lord Mayor to call a Hall, for that I had something to say to them. A Hall was called; but his Lordship, the greatest Enemy to my Election, not having Patience to stay till I came, dismiss'd it almost as soon as assembled, fearing I should make some Profelytes to my Interest. Just on the Back of this comes down a Proclamation, setting forth a certain Intention the Prince of *Orange* had to invade this Kingdom, by the Assistance and with the Concurrence of the States General, both with a strong Fleet and a numerous Army; commanding all Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and all other his Majesty's Officers, to hold themselves in Readiness to defend the King and Kingdom. At this Time Lord *Thomas Howard* was Lieutenant of the *West Riding*, a rigid Papist, and now gone Ambassador to *Rome*. He had left but three Deputies behind him, two of which also were Papists, and but two of the three were now in the Country; while most of the Gentry of *Yorkshire* were come

1688. to the City, expecting to meet with Writs for the Choice of Members. I therefore pressed the High Sheriff to give Notice to some Gentlemen, while I convened others, for the next Day; when Sir *Henry Gooderick* began a Discourse, which I seconded, to shew how little we were able to serve the King with the Militia, without another Lord Lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully serve, meaning a Protestant; and at the same Time we subscribed a Representation of our Case to his Majesty. I was well aware how very ungrateful this would be to him; but to obviate his Displeasure, I gave him private Intelligence of the Intention to prepare it, and begged of him to excuse the Concern I had therein, assuring him it was now absolutely for his Service.

Oct. 4. In the midst of this comes down a special Messenger to purge the Corporation, to put out the former Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and to appoint others, almost all Papists; but the Commission was so defective, and there were such Mistakes in the Execution of it, as frustrated the Design. The next Day I prevailed with the Lord Mayor to call a Hall; upon which Occasion I spoke to them a full half Hour, and so convinced them of the evil Arts which had been put in Practice against me, and the great Injustice done me, that they all seemed to be Converts in my Favour; and to add to what I had said, I gave them up the Keys, but made them own it as a Courtesy, and promise to restore them to me again, whenever I desired it, for his Majesty's Service. And now Lord *Fairfax*, a Roman Catholic and Lord Lieutenant of the *North Riding*, being at *York*, observed to me it could be for no good End that the Lords *Devonshire* and *Danby* were come down to the Country; tho' the former pretended he was only come to view his Estate, and the latter to drink the Waters at *Knaisborough*. They were both of them frequently engaged in Conversation at Sir *Henry Gooderick's*, and the first of them came to *York*, where I paid all imaginable Civilities to him, and received the same from him; the other I waited on at Sir *Henry's*, not once suspecting that Men of
their

their high Quality and great Estate could intend any thing prejudicial to the Government or dangerous to themselves; and indeed their outward Behaviour was very decent and innocent,

1688.

Two Days afterwards I had an Express from Lord *Preston*, the new Secretary of State; *Sunderland*, who was turned Papist, and had been the Author of great Mischief since he had been near the King, being laid aside; to acquaint me that his Majesty had given a very kind Reception to our Representation on the Part of the County, and that in Compliance therewith he had named the Duke of *Newcastle* to be Lord Lieutenant of all *Yorkshire*; and his Grace coming to town soon after, appointed his Deputies and Militia Officers, both Horse and Foot. The King began now, tho fatally too late, to be sensible of his Error in carrying Matters to so enormous a Length at the Instigation of Popish Councils; and now restored several Justices of the Peace in most Counties, as also the old Charters all *England* over; he now quits his Hold of the Bishop of *London*, does Justice to *Magdalen* College, and begins again to court the Church of *England*.

Amidst this hopeful Reform comes News that the Prince of *Orange* increased daily, and that his Fleet was ready to spread Canvass for the Sea. Three Days afterwards I had Orders from the King to receive seven hundred *Scotch* Horse and Dragoons, on their March from the nothern Kingdom; and in two Days they arrived. I was in great Hopes they would have taken up their Quarters in *York*, for the Security of both the City and Country; but the Danger hourly approaching, the Apprehensions of the Prince of *Orange*'s Descent growing stronger and stronger, and the King being willing to have his Army in as numerous a Plight as might be, they were ordered to continue their March southward, after they had been with us but three Days. The Duke of *Newcastle*, who kept nothing a Secret from me, told me he had heard Lord *Danby* had a great Sum of Money in the Bank of *Holland*, and that he had been invited up to *London* by my Lord *Bellasis* and the King's Order; that he had made some
Offers

Oct. 10.

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1688. Offers of his Service, but that he had no manner of Intention to go up; which last I very well knew from other Hands.

Oct. 15. Upon some Discourse with the Earl of *Danby*, at the Dean's House, his Lordship broke out into these Expressions; We are now every way in an ill Condition in this Kingdom. --- If the King beats the Prince of *Orange*, Popery will return upon us with more Violence than ever. --- If the Prince beats the King, the Crown and the Nation may be in no small Danger. The late Lord Mayor being now superseded, tho' it was impossible to swear the new one in, because of some Mistakes with regard to the new Charter, it may be said that *York* was now a very remarkable Place; for it was an Archbishopric without a Bishop, a City without a Mayor, and a Garrison without a Soldier. But these Defects were soon supplied; the old Charter was restored and the old Lord Mayor therewith; the Bishop of *Exeter*, who fled from that City upon the Prince of *Orange's* Landing, was made Archbishop of *York*; and I had one Company of Foot sent to continue with me.

Strange it was, and a certain Presage of the Mischiefs which attended this Invasion, that neither the Gentry nor the Commonalty were under any Concern about it: Said they, the Prince comes only to maintain the Protestant Religion. --- He will do no Harm to *England*: While on the other hand it was from Court suggested that his Aim was at the Crown, and that the *Dutch*, who assisted him, grasped at the Trade of *England*. In truth, his Highnesses Declaration, when it made its Appearance, which was a little while before he landed, seemed to be dark and ambiguous enough, setting forth all the Grievances of the Nation with great Aggravation, and asserting that the King's Intention was to subvert the Government both in Church and State; that he designed to make himself absolute, and to extirpate the Protestant Religion; that to this Purpose he had insisted on a dispensing Power; that he had moulded and fashioned all the Charters to his Mind, to the End he might have such Members of Parliament as he desired; that he had examined and pre-engag-
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ed such as he intended should be of the House of Commons; and that what was worse, he had imposed a suppositious Prince of *Wales* upon the Nation, merely to promote Popery, and to defeat the Prince and Princess of *Orange* of their Right of Succession. 1688.

The King understanding there was a great Noise raised about this Prince of *Wales*, had, a little before the Invasion, called an extraordinary Council, whither all the Nobility, Bishops, and Foreign Ministers were summoned, before whom the Queen Dowager, several Lords and Ladies, and the King's and Queen's Servants, to the Number of forty, as well Protestants as Papists, gave pregnant Evidence concerning the Birth of this Prince, all which was re-examined in Chancery upon Oath, and there recorded.

A Report now arrives that the *Dutch* Fleet had been miserably shattered by Tempest; that Lord *Sunderland* was certainly out, and Lord *Preston* Secretary of State in his Stead. The King mean while made great Preparations for War, and had swelled up his Army, as was computed, to six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and thirty eight thousand Foot: The Fleet also was out, under the Command of Lord *Dartmouth*, but much inferior to the *Dutch*, and did nothing to the Purpose. Three Days afterwards the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, conveyed by an unknown Hand to a Citizen of ours, was brought to me, and I immediately transmitted it to the Secretary of State. Orders were at the same Time sent down to us to secure the Lord *Lumley*, then in the *North Riding*; but the Gentleman, Colonel *John Darcy*, who was charged with this Commission, pretended he could not find him, tho' it afterwards appeared his Lordship was not far off, and might have been seized at Pleasure. The next Day I had an Express from the Secretary at War, signifying that the *Dutch* Fleet had been seen off *Dover*, steering their Course to the Westward, which gave us some Hopes there was no Danger of their landing in the North. In three Days more I received by another Express that the Prince was actually landed

1688. ed at *Torbay*, in the West, (on the 5th of this Month, *November*,) and that he had marched strait to *Exeter*, attended by Marshal *Schomberg*, an old and experienced Officer, together with a Number of our own Nobility and Gentry of considerable Name, and a great Land Army.

I immediately sent the Duke of *Newcastle* Word of this Invasion, tho' he had Notice of it from above; but he wrote back that the Prince being landed at such a Distance, his Presence would be no way necessary at *York*. I thought this a very weak Answer, and sent him Word that the Danger was not only from the Invaders, but also from their Confederates at home, and that it was impossible the Prince should dare to attack *England* with an Army of under 20000 Men, if he was not very sure of Assistance from our selves. The Deputy Lieutenants, being ten in Number, were now all at *York*, and being very sollicitous to preserve Peace, Quiet, and good Order, proposed a Meeting of the Gentry and Freeholders of the County, to be held on *Thursday* the 19th Instant, in Order to draw up some Declaration of unshaken Loyalty to the King in this Time of Danger; as also to consult on such Matters as might be for the Honour of God, and our own Welfare and Safety. This being a Motion made by Sir *Henry Gooderick*, I seconded it, and observed that an Address of such a Tenor might give some Satisfaction to the Government, and be a Discouragement to its Enemies. Accordingly a Summons was drawn up, to be dispersed all the Country over; and in the mean time I wrote up to Lord *Preston*, the Secretary of State, to acquaint him with this seemingly intended loyal Address from the Gentlemen in our Parts, and sent a Letter to the Duke of *Newcastle*, desiring him to make one of the Company.

Nov. 15. Being this Day at Dinner with Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Gooderick*, and others, at a Gentleman's who had invited us, the Clerk of the Peace of the *West Riding* comes in, to give us Notice of a new Commission, in which some thirty of the principal Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood were left out; and among the rest

rest Sir *Henry* himself. This threw him into such a Rage, that he vowed he was sorry he had promoted the Meeting he had for the Service of the King; but I heard that at this intended Assembly there were to have been some Points discussed which would not have been of so grateful a Nature to the Court: For it was at the same Time the Design to have petitioned for a speedy and a free Parliament, and for other Concessions which were to have been demanded and insisted upon. But all this was all along denied to me, and particularly by Sir *Henry Gooderick*, who being an open Man, I confess I added Faith to his Words; but Friendship is too often a Blind to the Eyes. 1688.

Four Days after this, the Duke of *Newcastle* himself came to *York*, and said he heard there was a Design to petition for a free Parliament, and that he thought it not fit there should be so much of the Militia together. I sat that Night with his Grace till it was twelve of the Clock; and we came to a Resolution, That if the Petition or intended Address was not conceived in Terms of the strictest Loyalty, we would not set our Hands to it. The next Day his Grace called together his Deputy Lieutenants, and asked them, If there was any Thing meant by their Assembly on *Thursday*, more than to make a Declaration of Loyalty to his Majesty? Whereupon Sir *Henry Gooderick*, who was one of them, declared plainly, That he intended to petition for a free Parliament, and hoped that the rest, who should meet, would concur therein, after the Example of a late Petition from some Bishops, and some Temporal Lords. The Duke took this so much amiss, that he declared he would not stay to be affronted or overuled by his Deputies, and that he would be gone the next Day. I made Opposition to this; observing that no absolute Resolution could be taken, till the Gentlemen appeared; and that if ought else besides a mere Declaration of Loyalty were thought necessary, it might be so penned, and with that Modesty as both to satisfy here, and not displease above; in short, that his Grace ought, at all Events, to be on the Spot in a Time of such great Trouble and Difficulty. Nov. 19.

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1688. ty. But he went away according to his Word, saying no body had been on his Side but my self.

Nov. 22. And now came the Day of Meeting; a fatal one I think. I would not go to them at the Common Hall, which was the Place appointed; nor indeed was I very well able, by reason of some Bruises I had received by my Horse's falling upon me: But I heard that in the midst of about a hundred Gentlemen who met, Sir *Henry Gooderick* delivered himself to this Effect; That there having been great Endeavours made by the Government of late Years to bring Popery into the Kingdom, and by many Devices to set at nought the Laws of the Land, there could be no proper Redress of the many Grievances we laboured under, but by a free Parliament; that now was the only Time to prefer a Petition of the Sort; and that they could not imitate a better Pattern than had been set before them by several Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. There were those who differed with him in Opinion, and would have had some Expressions in the Paper moderated and amended; and observed that at the same time they petitioned as they designed, it would be but their Duty to assure his Majesty, They would stand firm by him in the midst of the Dangers which threatned both him and his Kingdoms, at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes; but this was overuled. When therefore the Draught was completed according to the Mind of Sir *Henry Gooderick* and his Friends, tho' several disliked it and went away, they proceeded to sign; but before a third Man could subscribe it, in comes one Mr. *Tankard* with a rueful Story That the Papists were risen; and that they had actually fired upon the Militia Troops. Alarmed at this, the Gentlemen ran out; and those that were privy to the Design betook them to their Horses, which were conveniently at hand for their Purpose. Lord *Danby*, mean while in his Lodging, waited for the false Alarm, and mounted, with his Son, Lord *Lumley*, Lord *Horton*, Lord *Willoughby* and others, who, together with their Servants, formed a Body of Horse, consisting of a Hundred in Number, well mounted, and well accoutred. These rode

rode up to the four Militia Troops, drawn out on another Account, and cryed out *A free Parliament, the Protestant Religion, and no Popery.* The Captains of these Troops were Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, Mr. Robinson, and Captain Tunkard, who being admitted of the Secret the Night before, tho' prompt and ready enough in their Nature for any Action of the Kind, immediately cryed out the same, and led their Troops over to them. In the first Place they went to the Main Guard of the Standing Company, which, the Number not exceeding twenty, they surpris'd before I had the least Notice or even Jealousy of what was in Agitation; not thinking it possible that Men of such Quality, such Estates, could give Way to their Discontent, however great and just it might be, to the Degree of engaging themselves in an Attempt so desperate, and so contrary to the Laws they boasted, and the Religion they professed. But I had no sooner Notice of what had been transacted, than I sent for the Officers and the Guard, and understood they were Prisoners. I then sent to each Captain of the four Troops, in-joining him to bring his Troop to me as the King's Governor, as also to the Main Guard of the Militia Foot; but they would not stir a step; they would hearken to no Orders. I then sent for my own Horses, and was just ready to go to the Troops, in hopes, by my Presence, to regain them to the King's Service, when Sir Henry Bellasis, who had commanded a Regiment in *Holland*, under the Prince, and had lurked about a long while in *Yorkshire* for his Highness's Service, drew up a Party of thirty Horse before my Door, and prevented my stirring abroad till Lord Danby, and his principal Companions, came up to me.

His Lordship told me that to resist were to no manner of End or Purpose; that himself, and the Gentlemen with him, were in Arms for a free Parliament, and the Preservation of the Protestant Religion and Government, as by Law established, which the King had almost brought to nothing, and which the Prince of *Orange* was come to restore; and that he hoped I would join them in so laudable an Effort. I made Answer that I was for

1688.

a free Parliament, and the Protestant Religion as well as they, but that I was also for the King: His Lordship replied, that he was so too, and that he hoped as we agreed in Principles, we should concur in Action: I told him tho' we exactly agreed in the Matter, we differed widely as to the Manner; and I could not conceive it lawful to extort any Thing from the Crown by any manner of Force; and that as I had the Honour of being his Majesty's Governor for *York*, it was impossible, whatever the Consequences might be, for me to join in Concert with those who openly and avowedly acted in repugnance to and contempt of his Authority and Commission. His Lordship then said, he must imprison me; to which I made Answer, that I was naked and destitute of Friends and Assistance, and that I acknowledged my self in his Lordship's Power to do with me as he would: But after some short Consultation, his Lordship told me, He knew me to be a Man of Honour, and that he should think my Engagement not to stir, to be as sure and as close a Restraint upon me, as a Guard or a Prison; so that upon the Pledge of my Honour I was to confine my self to my Room; his Lordship, however, recommending what he had offered to my farther Consideration. They then seized on all the Gates, posted strong Guards every where, and suffered none to go in or out; they secured such Persons as betrayed a Dislike to their Proceedings, and especially the Officers of the Company; but the Company it self revolted to them the next Day.

Gathered to this Head, the next Day they visited the Magazine and Stores, which, God knows, were next to nothing, notwithstanding all my most pressing Remonstrances to the King, both formerly and of late. The Militia Troops then, and some of the Gentlemen who came in to serve as Volunteers, and who were not above sixty, ransacked the Houses of several Papists, for Priests, Arms, and Horses, which they took wherever they found them. They seized also on a Company of Foot new raised, but not yet armed, in their Quarters at *Tadcaster*, and a Company of Grenadiers as they were on their March for *London*,
by

by the Way of *York*; but as yet they touched the Property of no Man but the Kings, the Papists and my self excepted, for they made very free with my Coals, and other Provision I had laid in for the Use of the Garrison. 1688.

The Earl now caused the Lord Mayor to call a Hall, where his Lordship made a Speech, setting forth the Reason for their Rising, and of their Declaration, desiring the City would join with them in the latter, and they signed it accordingly, as did also a Number of Gentlemen. This Declaration being the next Day printed, there appeared of Hands of Lords to it, six, of Lords Sons, three; of Baronets, five; of Knights, six; of Esquires and Gentlemen, sixty six; and of Citizens of *York*, fifty six. We had now News from *Nottingham*, that the Earl of *Devonshire*, Lord *Delamere*, and many more Noblemen and Gentlemen were risen also in those Parts, and that great Numbers flocked in to them. Nov. 24.

Mean while, the King was on his March to *Salisbury*, which he had appointed to be the general Rendezvous of his whole Army, having sent the young Prince, his Son, to *Portsmouth*, as the Report was by some, but to *France* according to others. In a Day or two, I made it my Request to the Earl of *Danby*, that he would give me Leave to be a Prisoner at my own House in the Country, where I promised to act nothing to his Prejudice, but to acquiesce, and abide by my Word as a true Prisoner. Hereupon he sent for me to come and dine with him; and at my coming into the Room told me, That to give me the better Stomach to my Meal, I might, upon the Terms I had proposed, depart whenever I pleased. At Dinner his Lordship told me the Duke of *Newcastle's* Absence had been what had principally favoured their Design; and that he doubted not but I had some Fear or Suspicion of what was going forward: I answered, that I did indeed believe they would go very high in their Petition, but never imagined so many Gentlemen of their Rank and Quality would have ventured upon so perilous an Expedient; and that if I had been aware of it, I should certainly have made a Resistance,

1688. Resistance, tho' to ever so little Purpose, or at least have made my Escape out of the Town. I had Discourse with several of these Gentlemen, and perceived that they began to reflect on what they had done, as of more Danger than they at first thought of, and found they were troubled, that Men come in so slowly to them. Lord *Willoughby* said it was the first Time any *Bertie* had been concerned against the Crown; that it was a Grief to him, but that the Necessity of the Times was fatally such, that there had been no avoiding it. To this I observed, that the flagrant Invasions on our Rights might have been restrained without a repelling Force, and that a thorough and plain Representation of our Injuries, properly urged on the Part of the whole Kingdom, could not have failed to reduce the King to a better and juster Sense of what he was about; that the great Want of Money, the violent Distraction of the Nation, and a plain Discovery that Popery could never again be imposed upon us, would have obliged his Majesty, for his own Sake, for his own Safety and Interest, to have altered the Tenor of his Conduct. Sir *Henry Gooderick* would then have persuaded me to sign their Declaration, but I told them I could not possibly do it; for that tho' I should be of a Mind with them, as to the Matter it contained, yet being now in Arms I could not, in my Judgment, conceive but a Concurrence with them, as to the Contents of their Paper, might be justly construed into a Joining with them in the Force. Mr. *Tankard* also most earnestly pressed me to be with them, but I held out. In the midst of this comes the Clerk of the Peace to give me Notice of a new Commission that was brought down, which restored all the Gentlemen of the *West Riding* I have formerly observed to have been turned out; but that myself and two more were omitted. Lord *Danby* immediately took up this, and told me it was plain There was a Resentment against me, and that it was very evident I should meet with worse Quarter on the other Side, than from them; but all this had no manner of Effect upon me. The next Day the Duke of *Newcastle* sent Orders to his Captains of Horse to dismiss the Militia

Militia Troops ; but they instead of obeying his Orders, laughed at him for his Ill-timed Message. 1688.

This Day I obtained a Pass of their Generalships to go to my own home, upon my Parole that I would confine my self there, nor exceed the Bounds of five Miles about, and live peaceably and quietly, and abstain from all manner of hostile Action. We had now News as if the Army had voted for a free Parliament, tho' at the same Time they declared they would defend his Majesty's Person from all Men without Exception ; the very Matter I desired to be the Contents of our *Yorkshire* Petition. But on the Heels of this laudable Resolution, it hapned, as we were told, that a Number of great Men, Officers of the Army, and particular Confidants of the King, had revolted and gone over to the Prince of *Orange* ; particularly, that on the 19th of *November*, the King having then reached *Salisbury*, where his Army was rendezvoused, the Lord *Churchill*, one of his Major Generals, under Pretence of shewing him his out Guards, misled his Majesty into a Train which must have betrayed him to the Hands of a Party of the Prince of *Orange's* Army, had not an immoderate Bleeding at the Nose prevented the King from proceeding ; and that the said Lord perceiving his Design to be thus frustrated, immediately went over to the Prince, accompanied by the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, and others ; tho', it must be observed, that this Lord *Churchill* was raised from a Page to the King, to the Degree of a Viscount of *England*, and in Possession of a great Estate therewith, which was entirely owing to his Majesty's Bounty. The King astonished, and not knowing who to trust, returned to *Andover*, on the 24th, where he sat at Supper with Prince *George* of *Denmark*, his Son-in-law, and the Duke of *Ormond*, but to the Surprize of all Men, they both deserted him that very Night, and withdrew to the Prince, together with others of good Note and Account. The very next Day, the Princess of *Denmark* departed privately from *Whitehall*, in Company with Lady *Churchill*, and took Refuge at *Nottingham*. Now the Number of all that thus forsook the King did not

1688. not as yet amount to one thousand, but such a mutual Jealousy now took Birth, that there was no relying on any one, no knowing who would be true and honest to the Cause; wherefore the Army and Artillery were ordered to retire back towards *London*, where his Majesty arrived on the 26th, his Out-quarters being at *Windsor*, *Reading*, and Places round about.

Nov. 24. The next Day he called together all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then in Town, being about fifty in Number, and pursuant to their Advice, Writs were immediately issued out for calling a free Parliament, and for removing all *Roman Catholics* from Councils and Employments; for issuing out a general Pardon to all who were with the Prince, and for sending Commissioners to treat with him. The Proclamation accordingly came out, the Parliament was to meet upon the 15th of *January* next ensuing, and the Lords *Halifax*, *Nottingham*, and *Godolphin*, were appointed Commissioners to the Prince. But to return back a little to our northern Parts, *Kingston* upon *Hull*, or *Hull*, that considerable Garrison was at this Time surprised by Mr. *Copley*, the Lieutenant Governor, who gathering a Party to him, seized the Governor himself, Lord *Langdale*, in the Night, as also a Number of *Roman Catholics* who fled for Refuge to that Place; and the Soldiers joining in the Treachery, they declared for the King, and the Protestant Religion, and sent immediate Notice to *York* of what they had done. About the same Time a Party was dispatched from *York* to seize the Duke of *Newcastle's* Horses and Arms, which they did, but no manner of Attempt or Injury was offered to his Grace's Person. In short, there were but few Gentlemen in our Parts of the County that adhered to the King; nor indeed in any Part of the North of *England*.

11. And now *Plymouth*, *Bristol*, and other Places, submitted themselves to the Prince, and the Defection began to be general. In the midst, as it were, of this the Prince of *Wales* is brought from *Portsmouth* to *London*, when every Soul concluded he was in *France*: But he made no Continuance; the Queen the very next Night,

Night, being *Sunday*, carrying him, about twelve of the Clock, down to a Vessel privately prepared, which by a favorable Gale was wafted over to *Dunkirk*. The next Day a Regiment of *Scotch* Horse deserted to the Prince, nor was there an Hour scarce but his Majesty received, like *Job*, ill News of one Sort or other; so that, prompted thereto, by most fatal Advice, he the next Day, being the 11th, withdrew himself privately, attended only by two or three Persons, to follow the Queen, as was then most commonly believed. This was very extraordinary and quite wonderful; for his Commissioners having just before sent him Word, That Affairs might be managed with the Prince to his Majesty's Satisfaction, he had summoned his Cabinet Council to meet the next Day, at Nine in the Morning; tho' it seems he intended nothing less than to be with them; for he went away that very Night, without so much as leaving any Order or Direction behind him. The Lord Chancellor withdrew at the same Time, and took the Broad Seal along with him; so that all was now in the utmost Confusion, nor is the Consternation to be expressed. Upon this the Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporal, wrote to his Highness of *Orange*, to let him know the King was gone from them and to acquaint him, They would endeavour to keep Things in Order, till they could receive his Directions, and to invite him to Town.

The Rabble had been before sufficiently incensed against the Papists, but now apprehending, and reasonably enough, That the King had withdrawn himself by their Advice, or rather at their Instigation, they grew to that Height of Outrage, that rising in prodigious Multitudes, and dividing themselves into great Parties, they pulled down the Chapels of that Worship, as well as the Houses of many of its Professors, taking and spoiling their Goods, and imprisoning such as they suspected to be Priests: Nor did they spare even the Chapels and Houses of Ambassadors, and other Foreign Ministers; and particularly the *Spanish* Ambassador, who, as was generally computed, of his own and others, who sought his Protection, had Goods and Plate to the Value of

1688. one hundred thousand Pounds taken from him; what was of less Worth, and belonging to that Superstition, was burnt publickly in the Street. The same Day, the Lord Chancellor, who had waited too long for the Tide, tho' in the Disguise of a Seaman and destitute of his Eye-brows, which he had purposely cut off, was stopt at *Wapping*, taken, and committed to the Tower by Order of the Lords. He was at first brought to the Lord Mayor upon Suspicion only; but being soon known, they were obliged to give him a strong Guard, or he had certainly been torn to Pieces. *Pen*, the great Quaker, a Man of reputed Wit, and much consulted by the King, with regard to the dispensing Power he would unfortunately have usurped, and the Scheme of Liberty of Conscience, was taken also; as was Father *Peters*, that Incendiary, that Scandal to the Privy Council, where he was the first of his pernicious Order that had sat for many a Year before.

The King, however, upon his Departure wrote to the General Officers of his Army, signifying, That Things being brought to Extremities, and being obliged to send away the Queen and the Prince, he was forced to follow himself; but hoped it might, at some Time or other, please God to touch the Hearts of this Nation with true Loyalty and Honour. That could he but have trusted to his Troops, he would at least have had one Blow for it; but that tho' there were some Loyal and brave Men among them, both Officers and Soldiers, it was their Advice to him not to venture himself at their Head, or to fight the Prince of *Orange* with them. He thanked those for their Fidelity who had been true to him; and added, That tho' he did not expect they should expose themselves, by resisting a foreign Army, and a poisoned Nation, he hoped they would preserve themselves disengaged from Associations and all such evil Doings. In the Postscript he told them, That as he had ever found them Loyal, so they ever had and ever should find in him a kind Master. Lord *Feverham*, then commanding as General, dispatched this Letter to the Prince of *Orange*; and sent him Word,
That

That having thereby Directions to make no Opposition, he had, to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, given Notice of the same to his Army, which had thereupon in great Measure disbanded.

His Majesty, in the mean Time, endeavoring to forsake the Kingdom, in a Hoy with few of his Attendance, among whom was Sir *Edward Hales*, and stretching over from an Island in *Kent*, was boarded by a Boat, with thirty six armed Men, who were bound, as they called it, a Priest-codding, or catching. They used the King, but especially those that were with him, with great Rudeness and Incivility, and took from his Majesty three hundred Guinea's, all he was at that Time worth, and his Sword: But when they came to understand who he was, they offered to restore him both, but he would take back nothing but his Sword. Being brought to Shore, he went to Lord *Winchelsea's*, where he was taken with another Fit of Bleeding at the Nose, which made him very weak and very sick. Information of this being sent up to the Lords at *Whitehall*, they ordered four Noblemen, *Aylsbury*, *Middleton*, *Tarmouth* and another, with some of his Servants to attend him, and carry him Necessaries; some of the Guards also, and Lord *Feversham*, waited upon him; but their Orders were to leave it to his Majesty's own Choice, either to go or to return, it being deemed unfit to put any Restraint upon him. Much about the same Time, the Lords *Peterborough* and *Salisbury*, who had been lately converted by Father *Walker*, Master of University College in *Oxford*, were also taken: But the Prince of *Orange* being invited to *London*, had reached *Windsor* before he knew the King had been intercepted.

Before his Highness came to Town, he sent his own People to possess themselves of the Tower: He quartered them in and near the Town, and posted them at *Whitehall*; and at two in the Morning sent his Majesty Notice That he must remove from thence that Day to some Place ten or twelve Miles distant, and be attended by his Highness's Guards. His Majesty therefore went to *Rocheſter*, attended by Lord *Dunbarton*, Lord *Aylsbury*, and Lord *Arran*; and then the Prince came to St. *James's*, where

1688. he was complimented by many of the Nobility ; the Bells rang, Bonfires were lighted up, nor was any public Profession of Joy wanting among the Rabble ; while serious Men in the City seemed to think it hard The King should be so forced to withdraw himself a second Time.

The Prince, upon his Arrival, seemed more inclined to the Presbyterians than to the Members of the Church, which startled the Clergy ; he ordered as many of the King's Forces to be gathered together as possible, and confined Lord *Feverſham* to *Windſor* Castle for having disbanded them, and for other Matters laid to his Charge ; nor muſt we forget, That his Highneſs aſſumed ſo much to himſelf, as to make the Duke of *Beaufort* wait full four Hours before he would give him Admittance. The King, alarmed at this Proceeding, began to think himſelf in Danger, and ſent to the Lords, ſignifying, It was his Deſire to go out of the Kingdom. Their Lordſhips took ſome Time to conſider on the Anſwer they were to make ; but while they were in the miſt of their Deliberation, he gratified himſelf in his own Deſire, and went privately away. And now the *Engliſh* Guards and other Troops were, by the Prince, ſent to the Diſtance of twenty Miles from *London*, to make Room for the foreign Sol-diery he had brought with him.

Dec. 20.

The Lords having for ſome Time ſat in their Houſe, and finding that his Maſteſty would not appoint another Chancellor or Keeper, or produce the great Seal, the Lords I ſay, being about fixty in Number, as well Spiritual as Temporal, Lord *Halifax* being in the Chair, made an Order to baniſh all Papiſts that had not kept Houſe for four Years laſt paſt, to the Diſtance of ten Miles from the City. Their Lordſhips ceaſed not to ſit, tho' it was *Chriſtmas-Day* ; and among other Things, framed an Ad-dreſs to the Prince, That he would take the Government upon himſelf, till Affairs could be ſettled ; and the next Day a certain Number of Lords were appointed to wait on him therewith ; but his Highneſs ſaid, He could give no Anſwer to it, till he had the Opinion of the Commons ; for it was but two Days before that
he

he had ordered the Lord Mayor and fifty of the Aldermen and Common Council, together with all such Gentlemen as had been Members of Parliament in the late Reign, and were in Town, to meet together in the House of Commons, to sit there as a Committee, in Imitation of the Lords. They met accordingly, to the Number of about 300, and voted a Concurrence with the Lords in most Things, and particularly in their Address to the Prince to take the Government upon him till the 22^d of *January*, when a Convention was to be summoned; the Writs, it should seem, that had been issued out for the calling of a Parliament, and the Elections that had thereupon been made, becoming void and of none Effect. All this was transacted in the midst of almost a dead Calm, no Mischief was attempted, no Disorders raised or fomented, but all was Peace, Acquiescence, and Submission.

The Prince having received this Address, replied, That he would, according to their Advice, endeavor to secure the Peace of the Nation, till the Meeting of the Convention; and that in order to the said Meeting, he would issue out his Letters to the several Counties and Towns; that he would take Care the Revenue should be applied to the most proper Uses the Exigencies of Affairs required; that he would do his best to put *Ireland* into such a Condition as might best maintain the Protestant Religion and *English* Interest in that Kingdom; and that he would at all Times hazard himself for the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, and the Preservation of the Protestant Faith, It being the very End for which he came. Dec. 28.

News now came that the King was safe arrived in *France*, and that he was gone to the Queen, who was at *Paris*. The *French* King at first prepared the Castle of *Vincennes* for their Reception and Entertainment; but their Majesties afterwards removed to *St. Germain*s. The King thus absent in a strange Land, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, nevertheless remained firm and stedfast to his Majesty, with a numerous Army of Papists; while Lord *Inchequin* headed another of Protestants, and had

1688. had taken *Londonderry*, and some other strong Towns in that
 Jan. 22. Kingdom. And now being at Liberty to go where I pleased, I
 repaired to *London*, where being arrived, I was presently sensible
 of a great Alteration; the Guards, and other Parts of the Ar-
 my, which both for their Persons and Gallantry were an Orna-
 ment to the Place, were sent to quarter at a Distance, while the
 Streets swarmed with ill-favoured and ill-accoutred *Dutchmen*,
 and other Strangers of the Prince's Army; and yet the City seem-
 ed to be mightily pleased with their Deliverers, nor perceived
 their Deformity, or the Oppression they laboured under, by far more
 unsupportable than ever they had suffered from the *English*.

Tho' the Convention met on the 22^d, there was nothing con-
 siderable done till the 28th, when the Settlement of the Nation
 being taken into Consideration, by the Commons, they voted
 That King *James II.* having endeavored to subvert the Govern-
 ment of this Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract be-
 tween the King and the People; and by the Advice of Jesuits,
 and other wicked Persons, having subverted the fundamental
 Laws, and having lastly withdrawn himself from the Kingdom,
 had abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was there-
 by vacant. The next Day the Lords entered upon the Consi-
 deration of the same; and several Motions were made, as there
 had been the Day before in the House of Commons. Some would
 have had the King recalled upon Terms, but these were few;
 others would have had the Government continued in the King's
 Name, while the Prince was invested with the executive Power
 by the Stile or Title of *Regent*, or *Protector*; some again were
 for having it that the King should forfeit the Crown, and the
 Prince be elected thereto; and others again were for having the
 Prince and Princess crowned, as in the Case of *Philip* and *Mary*,
 and that the Prince should be King by Descent in Right of his
 Wife, while no Notice was to be taken of the Prince of *Wales*,
 who should be rendered incapable to succeed, as a *Roman Catho-*
 Dec. 30. lic, he having been baptized into that Church: At length,
 their Lordships voted a Concurrence with the Commons as to the
 main

main Point, the Vacancy of the Throne, but could not agree with them as to certain Words, and so adjourned the Debate till the next Day, tho' it was carried by no more than so small a Majority as Three. The same Day the Commons resolved, *First*, That it had been found inconsistent for a Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince; *Secondly*, That a Committee should be appointed to bring in general Heads of what was absolutely necessary for the better Security of our Religion, Laws and Liberty. This last Vote or Resolution was of most high Importance, and wisely intended to give Birth to the Conditions on which the Person that next filled the Throne should be intitled thereto, and to bind him down to a more strict Observance of what ought to be, than had heretofore been the Case. Mean while, the Prince seemed not at all to concern himself with what was going forward; and only desired that, the Circumstances of *Holland* and *Ireland* requiring it, they would make all possible Dispatch, and come to as early a Conclusion as they could.

The next Day was appointed a Festival of Thanksgiving for his Highness's Arrival, as it was worded, To deliver us from Popery and Slavery; but it was observed that the public Expressions of Joy flowed not to the Height expected; which, whence it came to pass, might be in Part accounted for here, but may be better deferred to a little Distance of Time. The same Day the Lords sat, and resumed their Debate; but differed with the Commons as to their Term, *Abdicated*, and would have had, *Deserted*, substituted in lieu thereof; nor could they quite agree with them, That the Throne was absolutely vacant; so that there was still Room for the Constitution of a *Regent* or *Protector*, or even for a Revocation of the King himself upon Terms.

In the Midst of this I saw Lord *Halifax*, in Company with Mr. *Seymour*, the *quondam* Speaker of the Commons, a Man of great Parts, and much for continuing the Power in the King's Name, and even in his Person, could we but be secured from the Danger of Popery. Dr. *Burnet* also was present, who with great Violence.

1688. Violence argued That the Prince was to be crowned; and urged, That *England* could never be happily settled till his Highness was at the Helm, and this Kingdom in strict Conjunction with *Holland*. *Seymour* said his Proposals were impracticable; for that if the Prince was King, he must maintain himself as such, by the Means of an Army, which was not to be relied on against their natural Sovereign. He observed, That as the late *English* Army would not fight for Popery, they would be as backward in fighting against their King; and that it was impossible for *England* and *Holland* to join heartily in one and the same Interest, being Suitors, as they were, to one and the same Mistress, namely, *Trade*. That same Night my Lord *Hallifax* told me, He was not at first in the Secret of the Prince's Expedition; but that as his Highness was now with us, and upon so good an Occasion, he thought we were obliged to stand by and defend him. I told him, I had heard Lord *Danby* expected to be beforehand with him in the Prince's good Grace's; but he gave me some Reasons to make me believe otherwise, and took Notice that his Lordship began to lag in his Zeal; and concluded that the said Lord could have no Hopes of being Treasurer, his Highness having declared he would have Commissioners for the Execution of that Office. His Lordship then proceeded to tell me he himself should be employed, and offered to me some Arguments to prove the Legality of serving under the future Government; particularly that tho' the King had relinquished his Function, the Constitution was not for that Reason to be suffered to fall; that fall it must, if Men would not act under those to whom it was delegated; in fine, that in our present Circumstances the *Salus Populi* was to be the *Lex Suprema*. His Lordship then continued, That there were so many who declined to serve, and so few who were fit for it, that if I had a Mind to engage myself, there would be, doubtless, Room sufficient for me; and that after Things were upon some stable Foundation, I might entertain Thoughts of being sent Ambassador to some Prince or State, whereby I might be out of the way, till the Clouds which hung
over



over us, were dispersed and blown away. His Lordship then offered to carry me the next Morning to the Prince, whom I had not yet seen, advised me to be cautious of the Company I kept, and to be very circumspect in all my Actions and Behavior.

The next Day I went to meet the Marquis, who was with the Prince in his Bedchamber; but coming out to me, he told me his Highness could not be publickly seen of two Hours yet to come; and advised me to defer the waiting on him till the next Day. At the same Time the Lords, who were for conferring the Crown immediately on the Prince, began to apprehend the adverse Parties might prevail against them; wherefore they found Means to stir up the People, who in a tumultuous Manner offered a Petition to the two Houses of Parliament, That they would crown both the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and take speedy Care of Liberty and Property, as well as for the Defence of *Ireland*: But the Lords rejected it, because it was not signed; and the Commons did the same, saying, They would not be awed in their Votes, nor be directed; for that they ought to be free. The very same Day the King sent two Letters, the one to the Lords, the other to the Commons; but the Messenger not being present to testify they were brought from the King, they were laid by, and the Person who brought them was ordered to attend on the Lords the *Monday* Morning next. At this very Juncture I was told, by a Court Lady, That it was much wondered my Friend, the Marquis of *Halifax*, had been so eager for the King's having abdicated the Government, when he absolutely knew his Majesty had never gone, if he had not been frightened into it. She assured me his Lordship had treated with the King to come again into Business, a few Weeks before the Prince's Intention was certainly known: That she was the very Person his Lordship sent to the King; that the King actually gave him a Meeting at her House: That they had agreed upon Terms; nay, what is more, that his Lordship had treated with some Priests for his Return to Court. That upon this Account his Majesty particularly depended upon him, when he named him one of the Commissioners to

1688. go to the Prince ; that after having conferred with his Highness, he sent the King a private Letter, intimating an ill Design against his Person, and that this was the real Cause of his Majesty's Flight, and the Departure of the Queen. That after the King was brought back, Lord *Halifax* was one of the Peers that came and admonished him, on behalf of the Prince, to leave *Whitehall*, for *Rocheſter* or *Ham*, within the ſhort Space of two Hours ; and that his Lordſhip's Reason for conveying this ungrateful Meſſage to his Majesty, was, That he was aſſured the Prince's Party had in Council reſolved to ſeize on his Perſon, and imprifon him : That upon the whole it muſt be notoriously known to his Lordſhip that the King had no manner of Inclination to withdraw either the firſt or the ſecond Time ; and that he was compelled thereto out of a Principle of mere Self-preſervation. She farther imparted to me That the King was ſo terribly poſſeſſed of his Danger, and ſo deeply afflicted when the Princeſs *Anne* went away, that it diſordered him in his Underſtanding, but that he recovered pretty well upon his Return. She continued, That the Second Time he went away he ſo little deſigned any ſuch Thing, that he knew not which Way to ſet forward ; one while he reſolved to go northward, and throw himſelf into the Hands of the Lord *Danby* ; another, he had Thoughts of going to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ; that ſhe herſelf was ſent to theſe laſt, to know if they would receive and ſecure him, and that they neither accepted the Motion, nor rejected it. She told me moreover, that the Lords intended to make Uſe of the Marquiſs for the Prince's Service, but were far from intending him any Advantage thereby : That his Lordſhip having been the firſt that adviſed the taking away of the Charters, he would be in ſome Danger of being called to an Account for it, as ſoon as the Government was well ſettled ; as well as for other Articles, he having great Enemies among the Party to which he adhered ; at laſt ſhe deſired me if poſſible ſo to contrive that ſhe might ſpeak to this Lordſhip, and endeavor to moderate him ſo far as to make him think well of a Regency, and not hurry
on

on so fast for a Forfeiture or Abdication. I told her I would do what I could in it; but was sensible his Lordship was too far engaged to recede. The same Lady again told me a great Lord of *Scotland* had, but a few Days before, assured her That in Case the two Houses agreed to make the Government vacant, that Kingdom would chuse for herself, be no more a Province to *England*, nor dance longer Attendance at the Door of an *English* Court.

The Lords this Day did nothing more than order the 8th of *February*, which used to be kept as the Anniversary of his Majesty's Accession, to be no longer observed as a Festival; and sent down their Resolution to the Commons concerning the Abdication and other Matters thereto relating: Which the Commons, the Day after, taking into Consideration, they resolved to adhere, *totidem verbis*, to their first Vote.

Feb. 2.

I saw the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Burlington*, and the Earl of *Scarsdale*, and some other Lords, who had all been active in the Prince's Cause, which they now seemed in some Measure to repent. Some of them said The Thing had run a Length they little expected; others, That they could never have believed the Prince would have contended for the Crown; but all agreed in Opinion It was to be set on the Head of the Princess, and so descend in its right Course: And the Earl of *Scarsdale* particularly told me The Princess of *Denmark* was very sensible of the Error she had committed in leaving her Father, to make herself of a Party with the Prince, who now in Return was endeavouring to put her by her Right, and obtain priority of Succession before her.

3.

The Lords having sent down to the Commons their Reasons for abiding by their Word *Deserted*, and why they thought there was no Vacancy; the House thereupon divided, the *Ay's* being 183, and the *No's* 251. The next Day the Houses had a free Conference, the Issue of which was, That the Day after, being the 6th, the Lords concurred with the Commons. A Vacancy being thus on all Hands pronounced, the Lords proceeded to consider in what Manner the Throne was to be filled, and in the End passed a Vote That the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should

4.

1688. be proclaimed by the Style and Title of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. But the Commons proceeded a Step farther, and voted That all Sanction of the Laws and the negative Voice should be vested in the King singly, declaring it improper there should be two Negatives: That the Succession of the Crown should be to the new King and Queen, and to the Survivor of the two; then to their Issue, and in default thereof to the Princess *Anne* and her Issue; and in default of such Issue, to the Issue of the King in case he should have any by another Venter, and so to the right Line, Papists always excluded.

Feb. 8. The Commons having completed a Scheme of Grievances and Usurpations on the Rights of the Subject, sent up the same to the Lords for their Concurrence, intending to lay them before the Prince for Redress, at the same Time they made him a Tender of the Crown of *England* with all its Dependancies.

9. Mean while the Marquis of *Halifax* desired me to get the Lady, I just now mentioned, to my House, where he gave her a Meeting, and was two Hours in Conversation with her. During which, she afterwards told me she was so free with him as to say, She wondered he, of all Men living, should contend that the King had abdicated, when he knew himself to have been so directly instrumental in forcing him away, by sending him Word, That if he staid his Life would be in Danger; that for this Notice and Advice the King owned himself indebted to him for his Life now, as before that he was not excluded: That to this his Lordship replied The King had done ill by him, in sending him a Messenger to the Prince, and going away before he could return: That to this she returned, His Lordship was not to say that to her, who actually knew he first sent him away, and was then angry because he went: That then my Lord complained to her of the King's never sending for him till the Prince was landed: That this also she contradicted by observing that his Lordship knew her to have been privy to frequent Invitations he had from the King, and that he might have had his own Terms long before, if he had not stood so aloof: That she then remonstrated to him

him that though he was so deeply at present embarked in another Interest, he could not be well too cautious; for that the Earl of *Danby* would most certainly get the Start of him, and play him the same Game in this Court, Lord *Sunderland* had in the other; that all they were now doing tottered upon an uncertain Foundation; that *Scotland* would most assuredly chuse her own King; that *Ireland* was probably lost and gone, the Lord Deputy *Tyrconnel* being there at the Head of an Army of 40000 Men; and that *England* herself was much divided, and in great Distraction, with much more to the same Effect; That his Lordship himself confessed there were but small Hopes of a lasting Peace from this Settlement, tho' by far the best that could be formed at this time of the Day; and that as he was well aware of the great Interest she had with the King, He hoped she would upon Occasion be his Friend, as he would be hers whenever she might stand in Need of him. The Truth is, she dealt more roundly with him than any Body else could have ventured to do with so great a Man; but his Lordship knew her well, and was prepared for all she had to say; telling me himself it was but Prudence to lend an Ear to every Body.

There were most certainly great and violent Discontents at this Time, and the Causes thereof were these; The Prince had declared he had no Design upon the Crown, and now sought it all he could; he came to settle the Protestant Religion, and yet brought over 4000 Papists with him in his Army, a Number not far short of what the late King had in his, but then the former were Foreigners, the latter, for the most Part, *English*; public Declaration had been made that the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* was false or supposititious; that there was a private Treaty made with *France* to inflame *England*, that the Murder of the late King and of the Earl of *Essex* would be amply made out; and yet nothing of all this appeared, excepting some small Circumstances relating to the Earl of *Essex*: Then the Prince kept his *Dutch* Forces in Town, while the *English* were marched off to remote Quarters; his Highness declared he intended to keep his own Men here, and to send ours to *Holland* and *Ireland*; the Princess

1688. Princess *Anne* of *Denmark* was post-poned in the Succession ; several Noblemen were disappointed of Posts and Preferments they deservedly expected for joining with his Highness, because they would not vote so readily for him as he imagined ; in short, the Letters his Majesty sent to the two Houses, were not so much as opened ; and Trade, the *Dutch* being a frugal People, seemed to be much abated in *London*, to what it had been in the King's time : These were the Causes of the Discontents that now broke out and appeared.

Feb. 11. The two Houses having agreed upon a List of Grievances and Usurpations, and the Princess of *Orange* being now safe arrived, they both in a Body attended their Highness's, who sat in two Chairs of State, in the banquetting House, *Whitehall*, where the Speaker of the House of Lords having read their Grievances and desired Redress, at the same Time made them an Offer of the Crowns of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, with all the Dependancies and Dominions thereunto belonging. The Prince in a short Speech told them He did accept of the same, and would do all he could for the Preservation of their Liberties ; and then went away with the Princess ; while the Heralds and several of the Nobility proceeded to proclaim them King and Queen, in the usual Form. The Remainder of the Day was spent in Joy and Acclamation ; tho' some there were who had but a sorrowful Countenance in the midst thereof.

12. The chief of the Articles the Convention demanded Redress of, were, Suspension of the Laws, or their Execution by the King, without the Consent of Parliament ; the pretended Power to dispense with Laws ; the Court of Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; the raising of Money by Prerogative ; the keeping up a standing Force in Times of Peace, without the Consent of Parliament ; the Obstructions made to the free Choice of Members to represent the People ; the Bars to freedom of Speech in Parliament ; and the Imposition of excessive Bail, or Fines. The Houses then desired the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy might be suppressed, and the two following taken in their stead ; *I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will*

will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, so help me God. — I A. B. do swear that I do from my Heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable Doctrine and Position That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any Authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever; and I do declare That no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate or State hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Civil within this Realm, so help me God. 1688.

The Days following, the Houses being adjourned for some Time, were taken up in Congratulations to the new King, on the Part of his Subjects, whose Numbers, upon this Occasion, were unspeakable; in naming and swearing a new privy Council; by whose Advice his Majesty began first with appointing the great Officers of the Court and the Kingdom; while the grand Expectation was, who would have the Preference *Halifax* or *Danby*. The latter certainly hoped to be Lord Treasurer; but the former assured me he was disappointed, and obliged to take up with the Presidency of the Council, a Place of great Honour and Credit, but very small Profit; while *Halifax* himself was made Lord Privy Seal, of his own Choice, an Office of great Trust, and worth full three thousand Pounds a Year. Before this was publickly known, his Lordship told me *Danby* was down in the Mouth, and would now suffer his Neighbours to be a little quiet about him, and that for his own Part, as they yet stood seemingly fair together, he would give him no just Occasion of Offence.

The King being thus seated in the Throne, the great Business was to procure such a Parliament as would confirm what the Convention had done; and because a new Election might carry some Hazard with it, or, as was pretended, might be the Loss of Time, when the Exigencies of the State required such immediate Dispatch, it was, after great Disputes between the Lawyers as to the Legality of the Thing, and warm Debates in both Houses, agreed

1688.
Feb. 23.

agreed That the Convention should be converted into a Parliament ; which was accordingly done by a Bill framed for that Purpose, which having first passed the House of Lords, was transmitted down to the Commons, who having passed the same, it was at length offered to the Royal Assent, which was granted of Course.

28. And thus was a Parliament obtained, after an extraordinary Manner it must be confessed, but being thus constituted they proceeded to prepare several Bills, and particularly one for a Comprehension, and another for the Toleration of Protestant Dissenters, which being moved by Lord *Nottingham*, in the House of Peers, was seconded by some Bishops, tho' more out of Fear than Inclination ; and a third for the raising of 400,000 Pounds by a Tax upon Land.

And now Lord *Arran*, who had been a little before assaulted in *Leicester-Fields* by eight Ruffians, and had, at a Meeting of the *Scotch* Nobility in *London*, proposed to recal King *James*, was committed Prisoner to the Tower, and many of the same Nobility being on the Point of setting forward for the Convention in their Kingdom, were stopped. The same Day, I dined with the Earl of *Danby*, who treated me with more Intimacy and Freedom than I expected ; his Lordship said He had made a fair Report of me to the King, when he gave him an Account of the Surprisal of *York* ; but I found him extremely cooled with Regard to Affairs, as now managed. He said that being embarked with his All, he was sorry to see Things no better conducted ; that *Ireland* was in a manner become invincible by our Neglect of sending Forces thither before now ; that with regard to this, and other material Points, equally unheeded, he had been pressing with the King to a Degree even of Incivility ; that he had told his Majesty, He plainly saw he did all he could to encourage the Presbyterians and to dishearten the Church, which could not but be absolutely prejudicial both to himself and the Government ; tho' he at the same Time observed that his Majesty interfered but little in Councils, being prevented therefrom partly by Inclination, and partly by want of Health. Indeed the King looked but ill, and the
Difficulty

Difficulty he laboured under in swallowing, seemed to foretel him a Man of short Continuance in this World. His Lordship farther told me He had been appointed President of the Council quite against his Will, after the King had declared he could not give him the Staff of Treasurer, determined, as he was, that the Treasury should be in the Hands of Commissioners; that he had been offered to be Secretary of State and President both at the same Time, and that he had declined the first; that all he had asked of the King for himself, was a Patent to which he had a Right by a former Grant, and that he would also be pleased to gratify some Gentlemen who had, upon this Revolution, joined him in the North; in fine, that the King had told him It would be by no Means for his Interest to be out of all Business; and that he had, in a Manner, forced the Presidentship upon him. His Lordship expressed himself doubtful of the Continuance of Affairs, as they now stood, and informed me That King *James* had sent down to him in the North, offering to throw himself into his Hands before he went away. To this, he said, his Answer was, by *Charles Bertie* who brought the Message, That his own Force, which he depended upon in the North, was not sufficient to trust to; but that if his Majesty would bring a considerable Party with him, and come without his Papists, he would sooner lose his Life than he should suffer the least Injury; but that the King having no mind to part with his Romans, would not come. His Lordship then said That if the King would but quit his Papists, it might possibly not be too late yet for him. He then observed That the Duke of *Gordon*, a Papist, and Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle, the only Magazine in *Scotland*, who was lately ready and willing to surrender it to any Body, now held it out obstinately for King *James*; and that the Discontents in *England* grew greater daily and greater. He then reflected on Lord *Halifax*, the King, and all about him, as most strangely infatuated with Notions of their own Security; and particularly animadverted on the last mentioned Lord for insisting with such violence, in a Speech of his, That the Prince should be intitled Legal and Rightful King of this Realm, (which

1688. I suppose the Lord *Hallifax* did with a View of continuing the old Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to obviate all Scruple about taking the New) saying it was mere Nonsense ; for that had the Prince of *Wales* been made King, he could never have been deemed our lawful Sovereign, while his Father lived. But his Lordship nevertheless appeared very serious and urgent about the Legality of taking the new Oaths, and condemned the Bishops for their Squeamishness in that Respect, tho' they themselves had had so large a Hand in bringing about this great and extraordinary Change ; and thereupon quoted Lord *Nottingham's* Speech, who, in the House of Lords, had observed That tho' he had never in the least consented to this Revolution, but had with all his Might opposed the Prince's Accession, as contrary to Law ; yet since his Highness was here, and we must owe our Protection to him as King *de facto*, he thought it but just and legal to swear Allegiance to him. I have been the more exact in the particulars of this Conversation, to give the better Insight into the Thoughts of the greatest Men upon this Occasion ; tho' I wondered his Lordship would venture to be so very undisguised with me ; but he was sure I would not betray him, tho' even to Lord *Halifax*.

The very same Day, after several Attempts of the Sort, the Marquis of *Halifax*, now again Lord Privy Seal, presented me to the King, having before requested him that a young Son of mine might have my Company, and that he might be excused from Duty a Year or two, on Account of his Education ; but his Majesty thought it an ill Precedent, and would give no Ear to it. Having kissed his Hand, I told him I had had the Honour of a Trust upon me from the late King to the very last, having been a Stranger to his Designs till I saw them in Execution, and that I could not then, in Honour or Justice, comply with them ; but that I was a firm Protestant, and had upon that Account been a Sufferer in my Estate, concluding That I should be strictly faithful to my Duty wheresoever I served. My Lord *Halifax* then desired I might keep my Company without paying any Attendance,

tendance, to which I subjoined, *Sir, If you have resolved to take away my two Governments of York and Burlington, I hope you will not expect I should wait on a single Company: His Majesty said No, He did not expect any Attendance from me; which was all that passed.* 1688.

I was told by a Lady whom King *James* had trusted with some Seals and Jewels, that his Majesty had written her Word to put them into the Hands of a certain Person he sent for them. She shewed me the Letter, which was dated the 17th of *February New-Style*; whereby I understood that he was to set out for *Ireland* as the very next Day, and that he depended upon his old Friends to assist him in his Cause. This Lady told me the *French* King had supplied him with a great Treasure of Money, and 6000 *Swiss* Protestants: That he intended to go through *Ireland* for *Scotland*, there to call a Parliament, instead of the propos'd Convention; and that from thence he would march into *England*, and put himself entirely into the Hands of the Protestant Interest: She added, That as she had a Friendship for the Lord Privy Seal, she had a mind to disclose herself to him, if with any Safety she so might do. I told her I would speak to his Lordship that very Night, and let her know farther. *March 1.*

Having an Opportunity of speaking to him accordingly, I failed not to be as good as my Word; tho' I must own, the Topic being of so nice and tender a Sort, I did it with great Caution. However, I gave him plainly to understand That the chief Motive which induced the Lady to desire a Meeting with him, was to impart to him what might be for his own Good, and the Service of the Public. Hereupon he began to be more free and open with me than he had hitherto been, on this Chapter; and I told him, in general, that great Designs were on Foot; he said He believed it, and that tho' Men seemed to be for the present Interest, as most prevalent, it was not altogether discreet to venture too far; that if Matters really were as I had said, it was but safe to carry it fair with those in the Opposition, and to let some People know He spoke always with great Respect of King *James*; that

1688. if we came to Blows, it was uncertain who would strike hardest; and that he should be glad to meet the Lady at my House, whenever she pleased. But his Lordship, however, said all imaginable Care would be taken to ward off any Danger that might threaten us; that an Army of 20000 Men would be presently raised; that all suspicious Persons would be secured, the Parliament intending to invest the King with a Power to imprison whom he pleased, and to keep them in safe Custody till they came to a Tryal; and in fine, that the Parliament would most plentifully furnish the King for the Prosecution of the War. At this Time several Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses withdrew to their several Countries; and I was told That some who were outwardly great Friends to the present Government, were treating for Terms on the other Side; which I communicated to his Lordship, and particularly made mention of some he little suspected. Whereupon his Lordship said That if King *James* was actually driving on at the Rate reported, the Papists would certainly contrive some how or other to assassinate or kill King *William*, well knowing what a Task it would be to defend the Crown on the Head of a Woman, with much more to the same Effect.

March 3.

I waited on Lord *Bellasis*, first Commissioner of the Treasury under the late King, who told me that tho' he was himself a Papist, he had been quite averse to the Measures which had been taken to promote the Catholic Religion; but that his Council never had Weight, the Warm-ones having insinuated to the King That it came from a Man old and timorous, who having a great Estate did not care to run any Hazard of it. He then observed That as there was such a Number of great Men combined in this Revolt, it was almost impossible to think the King, being a Papist as he was, should ever again be restored; but that if he would but be a Protestant it would certainly happen in a very short Time. This Lord was very deservedly esteemed one of the wisest Men of his Party.

4

Mean while, the two Houses were at some Stand about the taking of the new Oaths. The Commons made scarce any Scruple

ple to swear ; but some of the Lords refused so to do, and a greater Number of Bishops, conceiving they could not lawfully comply, seeing they had before engaged themselves under Oaths to King *James* ; and even those who did comply, did it as a local and temporary Duty naturally resulting from the Protection they owed to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. This Day Lord *Halifax* met the Lady I just now mentioned to have received a Letter from King *James* : She dealt very frankly with him, but durst not tell him all she knew. However he desired her to be his Friend if any Alteration of Affairs should by any Means be brought to pass. 1688.

Now the two Houses had, some Days before, voted to stand by King *William* and Queen *Mary* with their Lives and Fortunes, the Commons had completed the Bill for laying a Tax upon Land, and deliberated on other Ways for levying of Money for the Crown, as well to raise Men, as to supply the Loss of that Branch of the Revenue called Hearth-Money, which they were, by an Act for that Purpose, taking quite away, as troublesome to collect and oppressive in its Nature ; while the Fears greatly and greatly increased That King *James* was actually in *Ireland*, and that *Scotland* would not fail to take his Part ; wherefore Commissions were given out for the raising of 10000 Foot, and twenty Shillings Advance allowed to every Man ; but notwithstanding this Encouragement, and tho' the Colonels were most of them Men of Quality and great Interest, it was much apprehended the intended Troops would not be easily collected together. The *French* King had, for his *Irish* Expedition, furnished King *James* with a Squadron of 14 Men of War, 6 lesser Frigates, and 3 Fire-ships, all well manned and fitted ; as also with a Sum of 200,000 *l.* in ready Money, and 50,000 Pistoles as a Present for his Pocket, together with Plate, Tents, and a most royal and splendid Equipage : He assisted him also with eight experienced Field Officers, one hundred of inferior Note, a Guard of one hundred *Swiss*, a Band of Skilful Pioneers, 15000 of his own natural Subjects, Arms for 40000 Men more, Cannon and Ammunition in great abundance,

1688. bundance, and over and above made him an Offer of 15000 of his *French* Troops; but King *James* excused himself upon this Head, saying, *He would succeed by the Help of his own Subjects, or perish in the Attempt.* In the Midst of this threatening Danger, Lord *Halifax* told me the Commons were still bent upon pursuing him and Lord *Danby*; and that some of them had declared They would give no more Money till the King had dismissed them, and some other of his Officers; but says his Lordship, The King is not to be wrought upon as they may imagine; he is very well able to defend himself. They were angry with this Nobleman for advising King *Charles II.* to take away the Charter of the City of *London*, and for opposing the Bill of Exclusion: But I told him it was quite foolish for Men who had raised a new Fabric, immediately to pull down the main Support of it. His Lordship said he was very little solicitous whether they succeeded in their Attempt or not, and that it would be no great Mortification to him if he did surrender his Place. His Lordship then begged of me to endeavor a Reconciliation between him and a Lady I had formerly brought to him about some Business wherein she thought herself ill used, for that she had a good Interest with King *James*.

March 13.

There seemed now to be great Discontents among all Sorts of Men; Affairs looked somewhat embroiled; and I heard Lord Privy Seal say, That in the Posture the Nation now stood, the King [*James*] if but a Protestant, could not be kept out four Months; nay, Lord *Danby* went farther, and averred That if he would but give us Satisfaction as to our Religion, as he easily might, it would be very hard to make Head against him; Sayings which I thought very extraordinary to fall from such great Men, and of the Times too; a few Days afterwards, Lord *Dunbarton's* Regiment, which he had long since brought out of *France*, and was now quartered at *Ipswich*, being all *Scotch*, and consisting of 1300 Men, chose rather to march off in a Body with their Arms and four Pieces of Cannon, towards *Scotland*, than obey Orders, which were to embark and sail for *Holland*. Lord Privy Seal doing

ing me the Honour of a Visit this Day, told me The King had sent two Regiments of *Dutch* Horse, and one of Dragoons, after them; that if the *Scotch* Regiment had done this without Confederacy they were all lost; but that if any other of our Forces were in the Secret, and under Engagement to join and support them, there might be Danger in the Thing. I now perceived his Lordship to be very uneasy That *Danby*, under Pretence of Illness, so much absented himself from Business; and very much displeased that some, very little qualified, had so wonderfully, by his Means, got into Posts of Consequence, and particularly That Lord *Willoughby*, a very young Man, and quite a Stranger to Business, should be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I told his Lordship, I wondered much more That Lord *Mordaunt*, who never saw a hundred Pounds together of his own, should pretend to be the first Commissioner of the Treasury; I then dealt very freely with him as to the apparent Uncertainty of the Times; desired him to be cautious and Circumspect, and assured him I wished his Safety and his Family's, as much as my own. His Lordship then observed, among other Things, That the King used no Arts; to which I replied, That, in my Opinion, some Arts were necessary in our Government; I think so too, said he, we act a little too plainly. I acquainted his Lordship with some Particulars which caused a Murmuring in the Town, and of some which caused the same in the Country; whereupon he said, come Sir *John*, we have Wives and Children, we must consider them, and not venture too far. He then proceeded to intimate That if a Change should happen, there would be a general Pardon; tho' said he, I hear there is one which creeps up and down, wherein I am excepted; but said he, as you know I gave you some oblique Hints of what was likely to be brought about, (tho' so obscure that I must own I did not take them) so you must let me know what you hear on the other Side: And indeed I loved him so well that I was always ready enough to communicate to him whatever I heard, relating either to the Public or his own private Service, provided I did thereby no Prejudice to any particular Person,
or

1688. or incurred the Guilt of betraying what was told me in pure Confidence.

March 22. This Day the Lord Privy Seal told me The Rebels, meaning the *Scotch* Regiment, had submitted themselves to the King's Mercy; that their Officers would have persuaded them to fight, tho' the *Dutch* were four times their Number; and that they were in Confederacy with others, who, as it hapned, did not dare to lift up their Heads. His Lordship continued That there was now great Hopes of *Scotland*; and indeed the Kirk Party, which declared for King *William*, was by much the strongest there. King *James* appeared too late in *Ireland*; but he had this to plead, the Winds would not permit him to stir out of *Brest* sooner than he did. The Church of *England* was now furiously driven at by some in both Houses, King *William* being seemingly a greater Friend to Calvinism. In the House of Lords it was strongly debated, and particularly by the Lord Privy Seal, which lost him some Credit, That the Reception of the Sacrament should be no longer a Part of the Test, as required by the Statute of *Charles II.*; and in the House of Commons it was stiffly contended That the King in his Coronation Oath should not particularly bind himself to the Church of *England* as by Law established; but both these Points being carried in Favor of the Church, evinced her Interest to be stronger than any other in Parliament, and would, as it was thought, induce the King to court her a little more than he had done.

The Affairs of all *Europe* were now seemingly at a Stand, tho' Preparations were every where making for War; the Empire was mustering up all her Quota's against *France* on the one Hand, and the Turk on the other; *Spain* betrayed a Willingness to side with the Emperor; *Sweden*, *Holland*, and *England* were ready to do the same; while *Denmark* seemed to be fixed to a Neutrality. The Pope was still in anger with *France* tho' she did all she could to mollify him, pretending to blow up the Flames of a religious War; but this was not to serve the Purpose at present, his Holiness thinking the King of *France* was grown too big for his Neighbours,

Neighbours, and that therefore Regard was to be had chiefly now for his Temporals; the Church was out of the Question, the World was now uppermost, and Conscience was Pusillanimity and Indolence, according to the known and avowed Maxims of the Roman Creed. 1689.

It hapned this Day that I met with the Bishop of St. *David's*, who asked me if I thought he might safely take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he being one of the Prelates that had hitherto stood out, and were now cited to appear before the House of Lords. I told him it were fittest for me to be advised by him in such a Case, and that certainly his own Conscience could not but dictate to him right: But I found he was already resolved, and accordingly he went the next Day and complied. Mean while the Archbishop was obstinate in his Refusal, and would not so much as repair to the House of Lords, disowning the Authority either of the King or the Parliament. The Lords sent his Grace a Letter admonishing him to come to the House; but he wrote to excuse himself, by an Answer directed, not to the Lord Privy Seal, or the Speaker of the House of Lords, but to the Lord Marquis of *Halifax*. The House voted this Answer to be not satisfactory, but thought it unadvisable to pursue the Point too far, sensible of the ill Blood that had been set on Float, by the late Severity of Usage toward the Episcopal Order. A Day or two afterwards, the Church of *England* carried a second Vote in the House of Commons, and indeed it was high time for her Sons to exert themselves, the Dissenters having not only prevailed that the Oaths meant for her Security, some Prayers in the Liturgy and certain Ceremonies should be altered or dispensed with, but a Motion had likewise been made that there might be some Alteration in the very Creed. In a few Days afterwards a very extraordinary Debate arose in both Houses, between the Dissenters and the Members of the Church; the former pushing their Act of Comprehension and Toleration farther than the latter were willing it should go. They were almost equally matched, and sometimes one carried a Vote in both Houses, and sometimes the other. 1689.
March 28.

1689.
April 1.

A Number of Regiments, tho' many of them were unarmed, uncloathed, and in want of Pay to clear off their Quarters, were now ordered to march Northward; it being past all Doubt that King *James* was now in *Ireland*, and intended for *Scotland*, tho' the Kirk Party in the Convention of that Kingdom were for opposing him. Money was at this Time very scarce at Court, and yet great Preparations were daily making for the Coronation of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. But tho' Necessaries were certainly wanting for the Army, the Court, and the due Support of the Government, it was not that the Parliament was backward in giving, but the Money could not be raised soon enough, the City refusing to advance any Money upon the Acts that were passed; for great Discontents were visible to every Eye, which seemed rather to increase daily than to diminish.

7. A few Days afterwards, I saw Lord Privy Seal who told me That if the Church of *England* was a Sufferer, she might thank herself for it, her Pretences being too large; that the Commons were so slow in their Proceedings that it looked as if they thought the whole World was confined to *Westminster*; that the King also was very dilatory, to the great Hindrance of Business, tho' Dispatch could at no Time be ever more required; His Lordship continued, That there was a Necessity for acting with so many Fools, that they alone were wise who had nothing to do; and moreover, That he had heard there were some *Irish* landed in *Scotland*; that *Scotland*, however, would give them but a cool Reception; that King *James* had nothing to depend on here but the Army, which would be so disposed of as to be unable to do any Thing for him; and that if he came not very soon, he would be disappointed of this his only Hope: He concurred with me That the Earl of *Danby* had procured the Government of *Hull* as a Place of Retreat where he might make his own Terms in Case of a Change of the Times; and assured me He was more afraid of the Consequences of King *William's* Cough, which increased upon him with great Violence, than of any Thing else. I must confess I, upon this Occasion, temporized a little, it being
neither

neither safe nor prudent to be too open with a Privy Councillor, and so great a Minister, especially as I had been guilty of Freedoms with his Lordship to little or no Purpose; tho' whenever he asked me my Opinion, I never failed to deal uprightly with him. 1689.

But now let us take a View of the Coronation of our new King and Queen, a splendid Sight, as usual. The Procession to the Abbey was quite regular, tho' not so complete in the Number of Nobility, as at the two last Solemnities of the same Kind. Particular Care was had of the House of Commons, who had a Part prepared for them to sit in, both in the Church and in the Hall. They had Tables spread for them at the Banquet, to which I, among other Friends, had the Honour of being admitted, as well as to be with them throughout the whole of the Shew; so that I had a very fair Opportunity of seeing all that past. The Bishop of *London* crowned them both, assisted by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the late Doctor *Burnet*, who preached the Sermon, and two others. A few Days afterwards, being with Lord Privy Seal, the Bishop of *Salisbury* came in, and complained heavily of the slow Proceedings of the House of Commons, saying the *Dutch* would clap up a Peace with *France* if they did not mend their Pace; observed that the Church of *England* was in the Fault, and expressed himself as if he thought they meant a Kindness to King *James* by their Method of Procedure. Lord Privy Seal agreed with him in his Sentiments, and added that the Church People hated the Dutch, and had rather turn Papists than receive the Presbyterians among them; but that on the other Hand these were to the full as rank and inveterate against those, and would marr all their Business, by their Inadvertance with Regard to their Bill of Comprehension, and their Ill-timing of other Bills; in short that they would disgust those from whom they looked for Indulgence. They were both angry with the Commons Address to the King the Day before, desiring him to support and defend the Church of *England* according to his former Declaration, and to call a Convocation of the Clergy, which the Bishop said would be the utter Ruin of the Comprehension Scheme. In fine, the Marquis took Notice,

1689. that, at the Rate we proceeded, the Government could not but be very short lived.

King *James* was all this While in *Ireland*, the Convention of *Scotland* opposing him with Might and Main, and declaring the Throne of their Kingdom to be vacant: Presently after we had Advice that they had voted *William* and *Mary* to be King and Queen of *Scotland*, converted their Convention into a Parliament, and invited the *English* Forces on the Borders to come into their Kingdom, to be ready to assist them against King *James* and his Friends, but at the same Time that they had prepared certain Conditions, and drawn up a List of certain Grievances, for the King to redress and assent to; and particularly that Episcopacy should no longer have Being in *Scotland*, and that the King should, with regard to them, embrace the Presbyterian Persuasion. The Duke of *Gordon*, however, still kept the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

At home the Parliament was taken up with raising of Money; and the Commons address the King to declare War with *France*, and promise him all the needful Supplies. But great Heats broke out between the two Houses about the Oath Bill, the Lords being willing to excuse the Bishops, convinced that several of them would forfeit their Sees rather than comply; while the Commons urged that no Soul should be excused. But as widely as they for the present differed about this, they concurred in the Bill for the Toleration of all Protestant Dissenters. The next Day the King gave a favorable Answer to the Address which reminded him of his Promises to the Church of *England*, and moved him for a Convocation. A Day or two after, he returned Answer to the Commons Address That he would declare War with *France*, telling them he complied with their Request, and the rather as the *French* King had in a Manner begun, and assuring them that whatever Money they gave should be faithfully applied to the desired End.

About this Time a very sad Accident hapned, which for a while was the Discourse of the whole Town; Mr. *Temple*, Son to Sir *William Temple*, who had married a *French* Lady with

20,000

20,000 Pistoles, a sedate and accomplished young Gentleman, who had lately, by King *William*, been made Secretary of War, took a Pair of Oars, and drawing near the Bridge, leapt into the *Thames* and drowned himself, leaving a Note behind him in the Boat, to this Effect, My Folly in undertaking what I could not perform, whereby some Misfortunes have befallen the King's Service, is the Cause of my putting my self to this sudden End; I wish him Success in all his Undertakings, and a better Servant. A dangerous Thing it is for some Constitutions to give Way to Discontent, and imaginary Notions, but not to digress on this melancholy Subject;

The Parliament proceeded to raise Money, but upon Terms and Persons, that gave great Dissatisfaction. The Poll was quite strict, scarce a Soul being exempted therefrom, but such as received Alms, the House consenting to the Grant of no less than four Millions for one Year only. And now Lord *Halifax* told me That the Marquis of *Caermarthen's* Retirement into the Country, his Pretences to be sick, and his so seldom appearing at Court instilled fresh Jealousies of him; That he had heard he should say Things could not long continue thus; That his Relations and Friends were very dangerous in their Discourse, and that he himself was very open; That he found this new Marquis had no mind to be inward or intimate with him; That he supposed his Lordship might imagine he had kept him at a Distance from the Treasurer's Staff; but that imagine what he would, he did not altogether deserve it; that, of all Men, in the World, the King never would have invested him with that Office, nor, indeed, with any other that was very considerable, as he would find, if Affairs but held out till *September*. Hereupon I acquainted his Lordship with some Grounds that made it suspected the President was discontented. His Lordship then continued That for his own Part he found the King very well affected towards himself, that his Majesty did not only carry it fair to him, personally, but that from third Hands he had it That the King used very kind Expressions of him behind his back; for that he gave him but very little trouble either on account of himself, or of other People,

1689. People, while the Lord President knew no End of his Importunities. This urged me to say, That I did not know what his Lordship might thereby be a Loser with the King, but that he gained much with others I was certain; for that it was a common Saying No Lord used his good Offices for his Countrymen but the Lord President; and this I observed, because the Lord Privy Seal, tho' otherwise very kind and free with me, did not espouse my Interest as I expected he would. But his Lordship farther told me That the King being so very inaccessible as he was, and confining himself so to *Hampton*, when there was such absolute Need of the most stirring Action, was the Destruction of all Business. That he had desired his Majesty but to lye sometimes in Town, and that his Answer was, It was not to be done except his Lordship desired to see him dead, which, said my Lord, was a very short Answer. To conclude, he proceeded to say That if the King survived this Summer, which he thought he fairly might, notwithstanding his consumptive Disorder, or escaped the murderous Hands of the Papists, he doubted not but the Government would stand firm tho' it devolved to the Queen singly; but that however the Concern he had for his Family would naturally tempt him to act with all the Moderation that might be; that upon this Consideration it was he had taken no great or additional Places, no new Honours, no blue Ribbon, as others had done.

The next Day I was to go to *Hampton* Court, where his Lordship was to meet me and present me to the King before I went into the Country. His Lordship repeated his Promises to do for me what he could, but said It would be but Discretion to let two or three Months pass over-head, before I pressed Matters too much, to the End we might the better see what was likely to become of Things.

Here Sir  Ends.



